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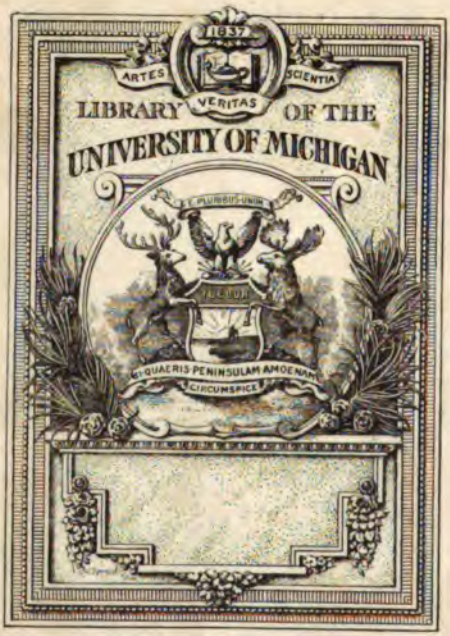
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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO

THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

BY

SHARON TURNER, ESQ., F.S.A. & R.A.S.L.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

LONDON:

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH—THE REFORMATION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE Author's first work on the Anglo-Saxons, and the subsequent one on the History of England during THE MIDDLE AGES, having carried on the account of our national transactions to the death of Henry VII. the next period of the subject was the MODERN HISTORY of our Country; which has been justly remarked, by Lord Bolingbroke, to begin with the reign of HENRY VIII. At this division it was pleasing to have arrived; because so much disagreeable labor had been unavoidably endured in examining, for the preceding volumes, what ancient remains could be found of the fifteen hundred years which occupied their pages, that the mind rejoiced to have quitted those æras of human society, which seem darker from being less literary; and to have reached an epocha, brighter because more recorded; and better, because more earnestly pursuing and valuing intellectual and moral merit. But a cursory inspection soon ascertained, that if the materials were more agreeable and abundant, they would not require less industry or less meditation than the anterior ones, to make them available in an historical composition. The perception of this certainty, and that love of repose which, as age advances, becomes one of its greatest enjoyments, induced the Author to suspend his enquiries, and to abandon this extensive branch of his original design to younger eyes,

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and to more vigorous health. But in this state of relaxing resolution, the discussions between his highly respected friends, Mr. Southey and Mr. Butler, fixed his attention on their interesting works, as he received them from their kind recollection; and some questions from the former, which he was unable to answer to his own satisfaction, causing him to feel an ignorance which he was ashamed to continue, he was roused to return to the forsaken paths of his former investigations. He saw, as the debate extended, that many parts of the reign of Henry VIII. had not been sufficiently elucidated by preceding historians: that the public had not been put into possession of the entire truth on the subject: that the king and his conduct had not been impartially appreciated; and that many transactions which were connected with our dearest and most essential institutions, had been both imperfectly known and inaccurately narrated. As these circumstances were observed, the desire to supply what seemed wanting gradually arose; but to accomplish this wish, it was obvious, that new sources of correct information must be explored. The printed accounts of this period had been so often laid before the public in various shapes, and at times with so much ability, and especially in these recent discussions; that it could not be either necessary or advantageous to burthen the world with another work which merely re-stated what was already familiar. It would be still less useful to engage, on the same grounds, in controversies which others have been agitating with a zeal and with talents that can rarely be equalled, and that require no coadjutor. To elicit any further light on what was obscure or

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doubtful, or which has been mistaken, it was indispensable that the enquirer should turn from what was in the hands of every one, to those original documents which had not yet been examined, and to search all the manuscript remains of this reign to which access could be obtained. Of these, a very rich collection of despatches and correspondence appeared in the British Museum, which had been singularly disregarded by former historians; altho, from the liberal system of that admirable depository and guardian of our National Antiquities, and from the attentive courtesy of those who are entrusted with its care, they have long been open to the perusal of all who would take the trouble to investigate their contents.

The letters there found from our ambassadors and agents in all parts of Europe, to Henry, to Wolsey, and to succeeding ministers: the instructions repeatedly sent to them, and the many valuable state papers there preserved, presented an ample harvest of new matter for an authentic history; but the large and promiscuous mass rather intimidated than invited inspection: and the first sentiment was, that of shrinking from a task which exacted so much comparing and transcribing what must again be selected, arranged, and carefully reflected on, before it could be converted into a compact and readable composition. When we are young, we have not sufficient judgment for such attempts; and as this faculty improves by lengthening years, the bodily strength diminishes; and that feeling, which if not indolence, is at least inaptitude for protracted fatigue, comes on with a temptation to remember the precept, 'Solve senes-

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centem equum,' and to shield our tranquillity by obeying its monition.

But the perception of what remained to be done, and ought to be done, for our full historical information on this epocha, could not be extinguished; nor could the mind be at ease with this consciousness, and with its own corresponding taste and excited curiosity, while what was possible was left unperformed. Hence, as those accessions of better spirits, which at times visit us all, came on, some efforts were made which occasioned others to succeed, till such a progress was made by gradual accumulation, as changed what had seemed unmanageable into a practicable operation, if reasonable assiduity were continued. Other important repositories of the most authentic information were then also resorted to. The connected facts that were still deficient, were collected from the best contemporary authorities that could be procured; and the final result has been, that the following History of the Reign of Henry VIII. is submitted to the indulgence of the British Public.

It has been composed on the plan, of forming it entirely from documents and writers contemporary with the facts narrated, and not from later authors. These have very rarely been resorted to; and never but to fill up some vacuity left by the original sources, and where it seemed certain, that what was borrowed from their notices had been taken from more ancient and genuine authorities. It has also been a main object to exibit the feelings, and to display the manners of the times, as the narration proceeded. It would be useless parade to particularize in a pre-

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face the new information which has been incorporated in the volume. It will meet the reader's eye as he advances in the perusal; and its occasional minuteness, especially in the diplomatic details, may try his patience. But it was so desirable to rescue from the forgotten state despatches of this reign, the new facts that would more satisfactorily than before, illustrate the principal events of Henry's important life in its greater transactions, that the chance of being dull has been preferred to the omission of what, tho sometimes prolix, promised to be both curious and instructive. On the transactions of the celebrated duke of Bourbon, the Author has occupied a space which he has thought was not disproportioned to their novelty and importance in our annals. The peculiar connection of all his movements with English History has never been fully known or sufficiently noticed before; and much which is developed in these pages from official papers, and from his own letters, will be found as new to the French nation as to our own. It has not been known before to our neighbors any more than to ourselves, as far as the writer has hitherto observed, that this personage, so famed as the connetable du Bourbon, actually took an oath of allegiance to Henry VIII. as king of France; invaded that country to place him on its throne; and was earnest, notwithstanding his failures, to renew and to consummate his project. But on this, as on the other neglected matter which has been introduced, care has been taken to insert nothing which did not bear on great events; and, therefore, much minor detail has been passed by, that what was really important, or leading onwards to momen-

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tous results, might not be confused or clouded by any thing, which time has beneficially dropped, or rendered uninteresting to the present mind and prospects of the world.

The new documents which have been examined, have inevitably led the Author to make the great POLITICAL events which produced the English Reformation the principal subjects of his work: not only that the new materials which they unveiled might become the property of the Public: but also because they clearly show that all which Henry, or his cabinets, or even the pope, successively did to cause this transforming revolution, was not done as matters of religion, or from the reasonings or labors of the ecclesiastical world, or even from choice; but from impelling currents of political incidents which forced almost every actor to do, and for the most part unwillingly, all that was performed in bringing about those extraordinary changes, which have made this reign an æra in the history of human nature. The Author has therefore left the theological subjects which arose, little noticed at present, that he may more distinctly consider them by themselves at a future period, when the great subject can be more justly and more intellectually contemplated in its moral and philosophical bearings, and as a completed whole. In the meantime the works of Burnet and Strype, the late publications of Mr. Butler and Mr. Southey, and the recent history of Mr. Soames, will fully supply all the religious details which are here deferred.

That the Author has made it his constant aim to give the exact truth, and the whole truth, in every

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part of his varying subjects, with as much impartiality, as human infirmity, unperceived by itself, but adhering to us all, will allow, he may be permitted to assure his readers; but as no historian supposes himself to be biassed, however much he may be so, it will be more proper to intimate what was intended in this respect, than to express what has been performed. Profession is neither availing nor much attended to on such self-deceiving points. Every reader will appreciate for himself the candor of those whose books he reads, and has a right to do so. He may misjudge, but he cannot be dictated to.

Wishing not to wound the feelings or to disturb unnecessarily the favorite opinions of any, the Author would not willingly have counteracted the belief of many Catholic gentlemen whom he respects, springing in them from the best of feelings, and originating in ancient assertions which have long been re-echoed, that the ecclesiastical persons who suffered public punishment under Henry or his successors, were destroyed only for their religion, and not for any legal criminality. This opinion has been industriously circulated by their friends, ever since their deaths, to save both their memory and their cause from that odium which, under every form of government, must, for the general welfare, be attached to all political treason. But it has become impossible for the Author to doubt that, however they may have acted in obedience to their consciences, the clergy who perished by execution in Henry's reign, were engaged in practices connected with insurrection and treason; and were convicted and punished because they were pursuing them. The

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grounds for this opinion will appear in those parts of the history which relate to it. But there is one high authority on this subject, as to corresponding events in the reign of Elizabeth, which is worth quoting here. It is a public statement of the lord high treasurer, in the beginning of the reign of James I. which every one may verify for himself by consulting the catholic authors to whom the king's prime minister alludes. In the celebrated conference before this sovereign at Hampton Court in 1603, Dr. Reynolds applied for the suppression or restraint of unlawful and seditious books. The king perceiving and intimating that the angry doctor meant those of the secular priests and jesuits of the Romish church, told him that he was a better college-man than a statesman for making such an application; and two of the cabinet ministers gave their separate reasons in vindication of the government's permitting the obnoxious publications to be freely circulated. Lord Cecil remarked, that "they were tolerated because in them the title of Spain was confuted:" and the LORD TREASURER added, that Dr. Reynolds might have observed another use of these books, namely, that now *by the testimony of those priests themselves*, her late majesty and the state *were cleared* of the imputation of putting papists to death for their conscience only, SEEING IN THOSE BOOKS THEY THEMSELVES CONFESS THAT THEY WERE EXECUTED FOR TREASON.*

* See the printed account of this conference.

Red Lion Square,
24th September 1826.

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MODERN HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

CHAP. I.

HIS REIGN, A NEW ÆRA IN THE ENGLISH MIND—HIS EARLY TASTE FOR LETTERS—HIS ACCESSION AND PROCLAMATION—ARREST OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY—HIS CABINET—DISCUSSIONS AS TO HIS MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE—THEIR NUPTIALS AND CORONATION.

CHAP. I.

ALTHO the history of mankind, being the history of their passions, intellect and bodily powers in their multifarious and most excited exertions, contains much in all ages that offends both the philosopher and the philanthropist; yet it also presents every where abundant matter to instruct and gratify the most benevolent feelings, and the most enlightened taste. It is, like man himself, often an erring, but always a noble subject. Viewed in those large arrangements of time, which constitute chronological periods, the history of the world, after every fair objection from its obliquities, describes the history,

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BOOK I.

of manifold progression in all that constitutes our improvement and our celebrity; but, if it be contemplated only in separated divisions without reference to its relations as a whole; if we consider it merely as a casual succession of distinct and detached fragments, or connect our feelings with the rise and fortunes of the particular kingdoms and populations that have glittered and passed away, then so many local catastrophes of states, and so many intervals of darkness and destitution appear, that the intelligent mind has often hesitated to decide whether the changes have been confused and disorderly vicissitude; or those beneficial revolutions which ultimately unfold a grand and enlarging advance of the human intellect, and new provisions for the production of universal felicity. It is thus that even the starry heavens appear to the uninstructed eye—a disordered and scattered mass of brilliant points, with little use, amid a desert waste, unconnected and unguided: yet long and patient observation, and the penetrating reasonings of sublime genius, have at last traced and developed in their wonderful magnificence that exactitude of science; those combined relations; that completeness of plan; that far extending system and those beneficial results which have enriched our nature with its most dignifying knowlege, and given to man his largest insight into the mind and operations of the universal Creator.

But, altho our judgment may occasionally doubt while it examines the disunited detail, it cannot contrast together, with adequate knowlege of their true history, the great epochas of time, and the

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condition of the world in intellect and comforts in each, without perceiving that some influential portions of the human race, at every later period, have been in a more distinguished and prosperous state than in those which preceded. Eclipses of nations and knowlege have indeed sometimes lasted long enough to have alarmed their contemporaries, who witnessed and deplored them; but they have always been followed, and in admirable gradation, by brighter, more useful, and more general illuminations. If Babylon, Phenicia and Egypt declined, they were immediately transcended by Greece and her colonies; and the cultivated states of this energetic people were absorbed by their emulous successors in Rome, only to augment, consolidate and diffuse, their beautiful harvests of taste, genius and active mind to nations and climates which Greece had scarcely heard of, and would never have pervaded. When the empire of the Capitol was destroyed, the civilization of the human race seemed crumbling into ruins, and yet what is the wonderful scenery that has since succeeded! Can we look around us now in Europe, in America, and over the great Pacific, without feeling and acknowleging that neither Egypt, Babylon, Phenicia, Greece nor Rome, nor all combined, ever exhibited the human mind and character in such richness, amplitude, activity, promise and produce, as now exhilarate the eye that gazes upon the present map of the ennobled world; prompting and gratifying the largest expectations of its expanding powers, its accumulating treasures, its wiser judgment, and its prospective achievements.

CHAP. I.

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BOOK I.

The improvements which, in Egypt and Greece, were confined in the one to a few hundred, and in the other to a few thousand individuals, have now become the diffusing property of millions. Time seems to be revolving from us with a certainty of witnessing still larger multiplications of these blessings; and altho it is not yet an unquestionable conclusion, that happiness and virtue will advance in equal proportions with our attainments; yet every observing and foreseeing mind can scarcely avoid anticipating, that intellectual activity and intellectual improvement, with all their mixed consequences, will henceforward insuppressibly become the general character and pursuits of man; whatever climate he inhabits, and of which soever of the assemblages of our social populations it may be his lot to be a part.

The mind is every where pressing forward to make the full experiment of its own progress; and the events which its movements generate, ensure and compel a continuance of its activity. Devious, humorsome, obstinate and disquieting, its course may be expected often to appear, because such it has already very frequently been. But the same experience leads us to infer that its new motivity and powers will gradually produce an extended, strengthened and enriched capacity, more effective both for good and evil; but, at the same time, more acute to discern and more resolute to pursue, the wisest means of diminishing what obstructs human happiness, and of multiplying the resources that can be applied to promote it. This effect is daily becoming more mighty and more universal, and the

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consequences must be grand and animating; altho it would be enthusiasm at present to affirm that wisdom and felicity will therefore be the general inheritance of an eager, agitated, competing and adventurous posterity. CHAP. I.

The present subject of the commencement of the Modern History of England, has suggested these reflections; because the reign of Henry the Eighth was the opening of one of these emerging periods of reviving splendor in the cultivation of the human mind: and because some of the ablest judges and most zealous promoters of this happy change expressly connected it with the example and conduct of the English sovereign[1]. He made a new æra of literature and cultivated intellect; and as far as we can judge, from the encomiums that were attached to his name, even of moral character, in his own court and kingdom[2]; which his personal conduct and its admired effects, for above twenty years, diffused also to the most important countries of

[1] Erasmus calls Henry, in 1515, in the seventh year of his reign, 'The parent of a golden age.' Ep. v. 1. p. 145; Le Clerc's ed. Leyden, 1706. Four years afterwards, he exclaims, 'O! wonderful vicissitude of human affairs. Formerly the order of letters was among the professors of religion; but now, these being for the most part devoted to their belly, to luxury, and to money, the love of erudition migrates to secular princes and to courtly nobles. All hasten to follow the example of the best of kings. Once attracted by the sweetness of leisure and letters, I abhorred a royal palace; but now it is a pleasure to me to emigrate to such a court, with all my paper furniture. I see, indeed, a golden age arising.' Ep. p. 437, 8. We have the same impression from cardinal Pole. 'Golden ages were expected from your being king; for what did not those illustrious virtues promise, which shone in the first years of your reign.' De Eccl. Un. p. 274, fol.

[2] In May 1519, Erasmus wrote to Henry, 'You think it far better that your reign should be adorned by these embellishments, than by trophies or triumphal arches. Nor are you only the author or the exhorter of these things, but also the example. You do not command, but you display them. You perform yourself, more than you prescribe to others.' Ep. p. 439.

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Europe[3]. The compliments which he received on this subject certainly breathe the spirit of a flattering admiration, but they have also the aspect of being prompted by some visible reality[4]. He is explicitly declared to have transcended all his royal contemporaries, tho Francis I. and Charles V. were his emulous and younger competitors[5]. His court is recommended as being more attractive than any

[3] The temperate mind of the mild Melancthon uttered this deliberate effusion. 'It has often occurred to my mind, as I have thought on your majesty, that such a golden age was now in your Britain as was formerly in Egypt, under Ptolemy Philadelphus. He principally deserved the love of all nations, and of posterity, for cherishing and protecting the study of letters. So all the human race will be greatly indebted to your majesty on the same account.' He adds, 'This is the judgment of all the learned in Germany.' Ep. p. 20.

[4] Erasmus not only asks, 'What private household, or even what college; what academy is more adorned with men excelling in integrity of life, and singular judgment, than your palace?' but also declares, 'Under Henry VIII. a prince, as it were, sent from heaven for this purpose, Britain so flourishes in all kinds of virtue, that it seems REBORN. He renders it so uncorrupt in manners, that an example of civil discipline may be sought from it; and so distinguished for religion, that it might be a mistress of piety to Rome itself. Italy may envy the abundance of its scholars, over whom such a prince is reigning, that he may become hereafter a standard to all princes for the government of an empire.' p. 441. This resembles the warmth of adulation; and yet we must recollect, that, tho both Francis I. and Charles V. patronised Erasmus, and sought his friendship, and the latter by making him a privy councillor, and giving him the means of a fixed income, rewarded him more than Henry did; yet he never applies such emphatic language to either of these, or to any of the great and powerful who elsewhere favoured him.

[5] The superiority of Henry to the sovereigns of his day is a common topic of the literary men of those times. Polydore Vergil, tho a friend of the papal see, yet in 1533, after Henry had begun his direct warfare with St. Peters, has written, in the dedication of his history, 'You surpass the glory of all the princes who now exist.' Melancthon, in March 1535, has a similar assertion. 'In age, wisdom and learning, you excell other kings.' Ep. p. 21. Erasmus, who had visited, and was alike courted in Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, Switzerland and Germany, frequently expresses this sentiment. To Boschius, in 1520, his phrase is, 'regem unice cordatum.' In 1521, to Pace, 'I trust that this beautiful and obviously most rare example will provoke many princes to emulation.' In 1523, to Laurinus, 'a king, than whom there scarcely lives to-day another more adorned with regal qualities—nor with whom good letters and excelling virtue are more highly praised.'

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other[5]. England under him seemed to foreigners like a light of the world[7], and even the most polished of his two royal compeers once condescended to acknowlege his general superiority[8].

It is not safe to give the phrases of panegyric a literal translation or an unqualifying belief. But we are tempted to suppose that the approbation which persons, not his own subjects, so frequently attached to his name, ought not to be deemed the effusions of expectant or purchased adulation, because they do not surpass the statement, which one of the bitterest of his adversaries addressed to his imperial opponent, in the highest state of that sovereign's resenting feelings, and in a letter meant to prompt him to a vindictive invasion of the king, whom he was, thus far, applauding. Under no circumstances was praise more likely to be sparingly bestowed; and yet cardinal Pole, in the most irritated state of his own mind, declared to Charles the Fifth, in the Apologia[9] which he wrote to incite that

To Bombasius, in 1518, 'a king, the most intelligent of all whom this age contains;' and to Henry himself, in 1517, 'of all kings now alive, the most intelligent, the most uncorrupt, and the most prosperous.' See his Ep. 562; 660; 761; 402; 264.

[6] To his friend Hutton, Erasmus remarked, 'If you should live in this court, Hutton, you would alter your description of another, and cease to be a court hater.' p. 67.

[7] In 1519, Erasmus wrote from Antwerp to Mountjoy: 'As I before congratulated England for having so many men of admirable probity and learned endowments, so now I almost begin to envy it, because it so flourishes in every kind of studies, that it snatches away the praise from all other regions, and almost pours darkness upon them. The chief merit of this belongs to the royal breast, as to the fountain of those councils.' p. 538.

[8] It was, in December 1526, that Francis mentioned, in his conference with the bishop of Bath, that he 'reputed (Henry) to be the chief prince in Christendom.' Let. 25 Dec. MS. Calig. 9. p. 297. Brit. Museum.

[9] In the very beginning of this work, Pole announces its hostility. 'I write, Cæsar! *against* the king of England; I, who am an Englishman, *against* that king related to me by nature,' &c. Apologia Reg. Pole ad Carol. Brix. 1744.

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angered monarch to avenge the repudiation of Catherine his aunt, the sudden improvements of England after Henry's accession; and ascribed them, like others, to the king's disposition, patronage and example[10].

But whatever portion of the merit of the renovating change is attributable to the English sovereign; the attentive thought which turns from the preceding reigns to contemplate that which we are about to narrate, will probably feel that a new æra arose in the human mind, and therefore in that social world which it shapes and agitates, both in England and in Europe, after the accession of Henry VIII. From that time and during his reign, mankind became very different beings from their predecessors. The human character gradually altered into new forms; intellect spurning ancient bonds and boundaries, sought eagerly new paths and craved superior food. New knowlege and better taste became the reward of its emancipated industry; and juster principles, both of thought and action, enlightened the minds, and greatly rectified the conduct of all classes of society. Corresponding with these changes and often resulting from them, circumstances and impulses, unexperienced before, continually

[10] 'God excited through all his kingdom such a disposition to virtue and piety, that we can read of no one in the histories of our nation under whose government there ever was so great an ardor every where in all to pursue virtue, and to embrace the best acts, and therefore for every kind of what was honorable—nor was it a disposition only, but in a *few* years so great a progress was made, that never was there seen a more abundant progeny of illustrious talents, considering the condition of the place, and the size of the country. In this kingdom, as I have said, no memory exists of so many and of such illustrious men of genius; who produced so many fruits of their virtue, that all which could be enumerated in the reigns of all the kings might be found in this kingdom alone. But these *followed* that disposition, which God had *first* given to the KING himself, the *example* of which they beheld in their sovereign.' Apol. p. 85, 86.

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evolved and produced feelings and consequences which were incompatible with the subsistency of the prior state of things in every path of human exertion. It was not commerce or politics, or even religion only, that assumed new phases. The arts, the pleasures, the studies, the employments and the inclinations of the chief nations of Europe, from the czar of Muscovy, who surprised Europe by sending an embassy to Paris, from his little known and still barbarized country, to the Turks, who were unavailingly struggling to add Hungary to their turbaned empire, exhibited on all sides those important changes which ensured others still greater. It was at the eve of this day of emerging novelty and of welcomed mutability, that Henry VIII. began his reign, at the age of nineteen, to become, as he grew up to manhood, the most distinguished character of all the able and bustling individuals that flourished around him; and to be, as he proceeded towards his old age, an active cause of the greatest alterations, and a promoter, voluntary and involuntary, of the greatest improvements that human society had ever witnessed.

Not unmixed with evil or with crime, both in himself and others, was the good which he produced, or the benefits and mutations that resulted from his conduct. Too many imperfections abounded both in himself and others in society, and too much passion, pride and rapacity, existed all around him for his resolute character and excited irritabilities, to act with that precipitation and decision which mark his reign, without lamentable consequences and most censurable and iniquitous violences. But

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the dark and chilling clouds that repeatedly occurred, must not make us forget the grandeur, the beauties and the splendor that occasionally emaned, either in the king or in the happy changes which some of his worst actions were made instrumental to produce. With all his vices and errors, he left the national horizon much brighter and more healthful than he found it; and however variously his personal character may be estimated, and must in justice be drawn from its extraordinary mixture and vacillations, no reign in the course of English history has occurred, by which the British population and the world at large have been more signally and more permanently benefited.

The sagacity of the mind of Henry VII. had gained from the European public who had noted his actions, and less undeservedly than such titles are usually applied, the character of the English Solomon[11]. But in no points was his wisdom more efficaciously displayed than in the education of his children; and in that moderation of his self-complacency which made him, tho suddenly exalted from exile, captivity and obscurity, to a throne, averse from all pride and arrogance[12]. His son the Henry of our subject, benefited by both these virtues. A gracious and affable urbanity, became, not his dress of state, but the interior and inseparable companion of his spirit; and he became so early attached to letters, and made such a proficiency in their attainment, that he wrote a Latin letter to Erasmus

[11] Erasmus notices his 'inaudita sapientia,' Ep. p. 119; and styles him 'regum longe cordatissimus.' p. 168.

[12] 'He so abhorred pride and arrogance, that he was severe and stern to those who were marked by those vices.' Pol. Verg. 616.

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from his own resources and in his own hand-writing, while merely a boy[13]. It was favorable to the foundation of his regard for literature, that while his elder brother Arthur looked forward to the crown, his father intended him to be made the head of the English church, and was educating him for that station, when the unexpected death of Arthur converted the destined archbishop of Canterbury into the prince of Wales; but altho this transition of his destiny occurred to him so early as the age of twelve, yet a love of intellectual proficiency had been by that time so happily excited within him, that this improving taste never left him while he reigned, and became the cause of the sudden progression of his imitating people.

The earliest picture that we have of Henry from the pen, is an expressive sketch of him in his boyhood by Erasmus. In one of this scholar's visits to England, he had the interview which he thus describes, at the residence of lord Mountjoy: "There all the royal children, excepting Arthur, were under education. When we came into the hall, all the household were assembled. Henry, then nine years old, stood in the middle, bearing in himself a sort of royal demeanor, a loftiness of mind united with a singular courtesy. At his right hand was his sister Margaret, afterwards married to James king of

[13] Pace, the dean of St. Paul's, in 1517, mentioned this fact. 'When the king was but a lad, he dared to challenge even Erasmus in a Latin letter, written in his own hand. Erasmus gave me this to read at Ferrara. He always carried it about him wherever he went, in a little box, as a hidden treasure.' App. Jortin's Eras. V. 3. p. 53. Erasmus stated to Servatius, 'when I was in Italy, the king, a little before his father's death, sent me, in his own writing, 'literas amantissimas.' ib. p. 28.

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BOOK I. Scotland, then in her eleventh year. On the left was Mary playing, about four years of age. Edmond was a baby in his nurse's arms'[14]." After this introduction Henry became so attached to Erasmus as to make his works one of the principal subjects of his juvenile studies.

Proclaimed king, as usual on the day after his accession, amid much acclamation from the people, he composed his cabinet council from his father's friends'[15]; and one of their first measures in fulfilment of their departed sovereign's repentant wishes, was to publish an invitation thro England, for all who had suffered from penal prosecutions, to state their losses and to receive redress'[16].

Numerous complaints were immediately presented by the aggrieved, and the exacted fines were returned to all who had been unjustly or oppressively attached. But the popular outcry against Empson and Dudley, the two state counsellors of Henry VII. by whom the severities had been judicially enforced, was so loud, that to appease the public emotion they were arrested'[17]; and with them lord Henry

[14] Eras. Ep. to J. Botzhem. Printed in Jortin's App. p. 108.

[15] Three clergymen; Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor; Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal; and Dr. Ruthal, who was soon made bishop of Durham; and six laymen formed his cabinet. These latter were the earl of Surrey, son of Richard 3d's duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord steward; Somerset lord Herbert, lord chamberlain; sir Thomas Lovell, sir Henry Wyatt, and sir Edward Poyning. Pol. Verg. p. 620. Two others, sir Henry Marney and sir Thomas Darcey, were afterwards added. Herb. 3.

[16] Pol. Verg 620.

[17] The principle on which Henry VII. had sanctioned the harsh measures of these ministers, Hall has transmitted to us from the king's own explanation, in the words formerly quoted from Grafton. Hist. Mid. Age, V. 4. p. 153. It was to lessen the power and turbulence of the factious great. 'Altho such as were affected would cry out and say, it was done more for the love and desire of gain and profit, than for any prudent policy or politic provision.' Hall, p. 505.

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Stafford, the brother of the duke of Buckingham[18]. The detention of the latter was short, and soon recompensed by a peerage, but the others with their agents, were subjected to legal accusations. Empson urged that he had but obeyed the late king in enforcing the penal statutes of former parliaments, which had been too long left unregarded, against the offenders on whom they were designed to operate[19]. Some approved his justification, but others referring the severities to avarice, they were condemned as illegal; while the subordinate instruments suffered so much from the public resentment in the pillory, to which they were condemned, that they died a few days afterwards[20]. CHAP. I.

Empson and Dudley were in the winter parliament attainted of high treason[21] with the manifest injustice of making that a punishable crime, after it has been committed, which was not so before. Public odium, one of the highest, and most deeply felt, of all our social revenges, is all that ought to be inflicted, where law has been silent.

While these arrests were taking place, Henry left Richmond where his father had died, and secluded himself in the Tower of London with his ministers, till the royal obsequies were performed[22], issuing a proclamation in the mean time, which ratified all the pardons granted by his father, and remitted all

[18] Hall, p. 506. He was soon afterwards made earl of Wiltshire. p. 512.

[19] Pol. Verg. states his short but well-reasoned speech, p. 620, which Herbert has amplified for the English reader, p. 5.

[20] Hall, 506.

[21] Hall, 512. The outcry against them increasing, they were beheaded on 17th August, in the ensuing year, on Tower-hill, ib. 515.

[22] Hall, 506.

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The body of Henry VII. was placed in the great chamber of his palace for three days, and for the same time successively in the hall and in the chapel, on a hearse of wax garnished with banners, while a prelate every day chaunted a funeral service. On May the 9th, it was laid in a chariot covered with black cloth of gold, upon gilt cushions; and over the insensible remains an image reclined, a resemblance of their living reality, clothed in his rich robes of state, with a crown on the head, and the ball and sceptre in the hands, amid banners and floating pendants with his arms and genealogies; a parade which but mocked its own pretensions, as it displayed how vain and useless was all human grandeur to preclude the stroke of death, or to control those evolving consequences in which the departed being was at that moment interested.

Preceded by the choristers of the royal chapel, and by a great number of prelates uttering their solemn prayers with the servants of the household in their funeral apparel; the decorated car advanced to London with the appointed mourners, amid the blaze of six hundred torches arranged and flaming on each side. All the religious orders, with the mayor and the different ranks of the city clothed in black, met it at London bridge, and conveyed it thro the streets illumined every where with burning lights and amid waxen tapers placed in the hands of children on stalls, with great reverence to St. Paul's. A mournful service was there performed, and the

[28] Hall 506.

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next day it was removed with increased state to Westminster, where new supplications were uttered for the repose of the disembodied spirit. On the succeeding morning, three masses were solemnly sung before the corpse by the bishop. Its banners, courser and armor were offered at the altar, with rich palls of gold. The great officers of state then broke their staves, and cast them into the grave, while the chief herald shouted 'Vive le Roy Henry le Huitieme[24].' This theatrical display of pompous lamentation, ended as if in sarcastic satire on the grave drama they had been acting, by all the mourners and attendants going immediately to the palace 'where they had a great and a sumptuous feast[25].' We smile at the Irish wake, but we see that it has had grave and splendid prototypes or imitations[26].

His venerable grandmother, to whom her dynasty had owed the crown he now inherited, being alive at his accession, the new king had chosen his ministers by her valuable advice, and on the public-spirited principle of appointing them for their

[24] Hall, 506, 7.

[25] Hall, 507.

[26] A letter of lord Mountjoy's, written at this period, will give an idea how much Henry was appreciated at his accession. It was written, 27th May 1509, to Erasmus. 'You have heard that our prince Henry has succeeded his departed father. What may you not promise yourself from a prince whose excellent and almost divine disposition you so well know; to whom you are not only known but familiar, as you have received what has happened to few, letters written with his own fingers. But if you could know what a hero he now exhibits himself; how wisely he conducts himself; what a lover of the good and equitable, and what a regard he has for men of letters, you would fly to him. He desires not gold, or gems, or the precious metals; but virtue, glory, and eternal fame. I said to him the other day, when he was wishing that he was more learned, 'We do not desire this of you, sire! but that you should welcome and cherish those who are so;' 'and why not,' was his reply, 'for without them we shall scarcely exist.' Eras. Ep. VI. p. 8. Ed. Le Clerc.

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BOOK. I. abilities in official business, instead of listening to the claims of private and young attachments. They rewarded his selection by making his real welfare their disinterested object. Unlike those who keep sovereigns in ignorance to make themselves more necessary, they began a steady plan of inviting and of attracting him to their councils, and of accustoming him to public business, that he might contract a liking for it, and spontaneously apply to it, as his ability to act in it increased[27]. With honest friendship and true loyalty and duty, they not only impartially advised, but often respectfully contested with him the subjects that arose when their resistance was for his good[28]. His own judgment and probity were shown in allowing and in attending to their discussions.

At first he had no lawyers in his cabinet. He kept these at a distance in the beginning of his reign, probably to avoid the unpopularity which had attached to his father from some of their severe exertions; but he afterwards found it necessary to introduce them into his council: for what civilized government can be peaceably carried on, or how can the due discrimination between the prerogative of the crown and the privileges of a free people be made, or where can the rights of property and person, both to king and subjects, be justly preserved, without the aid of that class of society, whose leaders, amid all their technical imperfections, yet cultivate and exercise the most enlightened jurisprudence of their day.

It was, however, remarked, that he never made

[27] Pol. Verg. p. 620. [28] Herb. p. 3.

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reasons of law his reasons of state[29]. This may have been wise. The laws of every country have much that is strictly territorial to it, and confined to its peculiar usages and institutions, which will be inapplicable elsewhere, and unavailing in larger theatres of human action. CHAR. I.

The new and momentous questions in which he became involved were also such as no precedent existed to illustrate; and therefore, minds that were trained to act by the guidance of anterior authorities, could only, on these points, like sir Thomas More, pertinaciously counteract, or inefficiently advise him.

That the king, altho so young, should be married, was the natural desire of those who wished a perpetuation of the Tudor line, of which he was the only male survivor; and of the nation at large, which has ever loved a sovereign of a domestic character. The Spanish princess Catherine was the lady that immediately ingrossed the attention of the sovereign and of his cabinet, because as she was in the country, it was necessary for her character that she should be wedded or conveyed home. She was interesting, and Henry liked her[30]; but the circumstance of her being the widow of his brother, created a moral and religious objection to her becoming the queen. His cabinet anxiously discussed the question destined to give afterwards such a concussion to the Romish hierarchy. Arthur had

[29] Herb. p. 3.

[30] So Cardinal Pole mentions, in his Apologia, addressed to her uncle Charles 5. 1 Pole Ep. p. 83. Speed calls her 'Beauteous.'

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been married to her five months before he died[31]; and Henry VII. unwilling to lose the political advantages which he had aimed to secure from a close alliance between the English and Spanish crowns, and not less reluctant to resign the one hundred thousand crowns which had been appointed for her portion, projected to wed her to his only other son, Henry. Her father Ferdinand consented to the new nuptials[32]. The princess was not averse to them; and to remove the conscientious scruple, Julius II. granted a bull of dispensation, on the ground that Arthur had left no offspring, and that it was desirable to cement the bond of peace and friendship between the two governments[33].

The Levitical law had forbidden one brother to marry another's wife[34]; but the supplement in Deuteronomy had recommended such nuptials where the deceased left no issue, in order that the elder line of ancestry might if possible be perpetuated[35]. As Henry was then only twelve years of age, it was, however, necessary that he should wait till it became proper for the nuptials to take place. This pause gave an opportunity for the doubts of their

[31] They were married 14th November 1501. Herb. 246, and he died 2d April 1502.

[32] The treaty for this purpose is 24th September 1502. MSS. Vesp. c. 12. p. 218. There is another treaty, dated 24th October 1503, in Rym. v. 13. p. 36.

[33] The bull that was produced as this instrument was dated 7 Cal. 26th December, January 1503. See it in Rym. 13. p. 88. Its genuineness was strongly contested afterwards. Wolsey criticises the pope's allegation, 'pro bono pacis with Ferdinand,' as a falsehood. See his Letter, 1 Burnett's App. 13.

[34] Levit. c. 18. v. 16.

[35] Deuter. c. 25. v. 5–10. It was on this text that the Pharisees proposed the question to our Saviour, which led him to declare the important information, that there will be no marriages inh eaven. Matt. 22. v. 24. Luke 20. v. 28.

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propriety to take a deeper root; and on the day on which the prince attained his fourteenth year, he read and signed a protestation, declaring that he did not mean to confirm or fulfil that contract; but on the contrary, of his own free will, and without any compulsion or persuasion, impugned and abandoned it, and would never take Catherine for his wife. He read this paper on 27th June 1505, in the palace at Richmond, before his father's state counsellors, the bishop of Winchester, sir Giles Dawbenny and others, who signed it, with the notary, in attestation of the important disclaimer[36].

This decisive act is declared by a contemporary to have arisen from fluctuations in the mind of Henry VII. The princess was first detained by him in England, lest she might have issue. The plan of uniting her with his surviving son, afterwards occasioned him to propose it to Ferdinand, and to solicit the bull from Rome; but his own queen dying, and a severe sickness falling upon him, the schemes of policy gave way to the anxieties of conscience, and he began to reflect on the objections of some of his state advisers, who declared such a marriage to be incestuous, and beyond any human power to legalise. Their suggestion was, that no pope could abrogate the laws of God.

Impressed with these ideas, he called Henry to him, and in the presence of several noblemen told

[36] It contains an attestation, that Henry read it, on the 27th June 1505, before the bishop of Winchester, at Richmond. It is printed by Herbert as produced before the legates, p. 249; and by Burnett, in the App. to his Hist. Reform. vi. p. 10, 11. Card. Wolsey, in his letter to Casalis, of 5th December 1527, notices this 'contractus revocatio.' The original Latin MS. is in the British Museum. Vitell. B. 9. p. 189.

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him that it was wicked to suppose that the divine laws ceased to be such when the pope thought proper to change them, and exhorted him to relinquish the marriage. The prince acquiesced, and the notarial protestation was executed [37].

After such an exhortation and disclaimer, it is extraordinary that Catherine was not sent back to her father; yet, four years after these singular incidents, she remained in England, perhaps kept there to suit the temporizing policy of Henry VII. who does not appear to have communicated to Ferdinand the abrogation of the contract, and who wished still to preserve the benefit of his alliance against the growing power of the monarchy of France [38]. The first idea of such a marriage was disapproved of by the people [39]. It is probable that Henry VII. vibrated again between his conscience and his interest; for his principal counsellor, who admits the protestation, declares that it was the king's intention that the marriage should take place, tho he deferred its solemnization [40].

The prelates of Canterbury and Winchester, who

[37] This is the account detailed by Moryson, in his Apomaxis Calum. Printed at London 1537. p. 5–13. Wolsey's short paragraph on this declaration, in the above-mentioned letter, supports Moryson's account. Sanders also admits, 'that Henry had once declared he would abstain from the marriage.' De Schis. p. 4.

[38] Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, deposed, that he had told Henry 7, that the marriage seemed to him neither honorable nor well-pleasing to God; and that finding the old king less inclined to it, he intreated him to persuade prince Henry to protest that he would not take her, but that the protest should not be made till he had reached the age of puberty. Herb. 243–5.

[39] Warham mentions their murmuring, p. 243; and sir Richard Sacheverel swore, that they commonly said it was unfit that one brother should marry the other brother's wife. Herb. 244. Hall intimates the public disapprobation. p. 507.

[40] This was Fox, bishop of Winchester. Herb. p. 246. He ascribes the delay to a difference with Spain about the dowry. Ib.

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had differed about the legality of the marriage in the cabinet of Henry's father, renewed their discussions in his own; but the majority of the council decided on recommending it to the king; and his own passions having become interested for the lady[41], all further opposition was suspended. It was resolved to act upon the old bull for a dispensation, without waiting for a new one; and on 3d June, exactly six weeks after his father's death, the nuptial ceremony was completed[42]. That a marriage thus celebrated after all the objections against it had been known and considered for eight years, after the king had disclaimed it, and after he had chosen to annul his own disclaimer, when fully able to canvass and judge of its propriety, should be attacked and broken at a future

[41] That Henry then loved her does not rest on the authority of Pole only. Moryson says, 'that after Henry 7 had forbidden his son to see her, the separation had this effect, ut *amor* plus apud regem posset quam patris monitus.' Apom. p. 14.

[42] The political reasons of the ministers who favored it may be read in Herbert, p. 7. The remarks of Erasmus upon this marriage, in the year 1529, may be perused as the judgment of a sensible and impartial foreigner. 'That he married a brother's widow was not repugnant to the divine law, and had the sanction of the pontiff's diploma. But the king testified to his people, that he never did it with a matrimonial mind. It is true, that while he was under guardians, he vehemently struggled that he might not marry her. But after various fears had been cast into his mind by his guardians, that if he did not, he might be shaken from his throne, and if shaken off might be killed, as was usual, he married; but as it was sufficiently apparent, he did not dismiss her from his mind.' Famil. ad Amerb. p. 19. It is not clear to us how, by not marrying Catherine, he would have endangered his crown. But these remarks of Erasmus prove, that the connection of these circumstances, tho obscure to us, was felt by his contemporaries. A slight link with royalty then gave claims to the throne that always met supporters, and perhaps it was feared that Catherine, like the other Catherine, Henry 5th's widow, might marry a subject, or a rival. One of the grounds on which Henry 7 built his title was, that his father was the son of the fifth Harry's widow. It may have been feared that one of the Poles, who pretended to the throne, might have wedded her. Her favor to this family is mentioned in the life of cardinal Pole.

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period by the husband, on any pretext of conscience or moral principle, was a circumstance which no reasonable foresight could have predicted, and which kingly and national honor ought to have united to prevent[43].

Crowned 24 June, 1509.

A splendid coronation, one of the most justifiable displays of social pomp, gratified in the same month both the king and his people. The joyousness and magnificence of this regal festivity are so amply shared by all whose dress and presence constitute its grandeur, or who survey its display—that the most temperate moralist may sympathize with those whom the ceremonial installation of its sovereign distinguishes and makes happy. Henry's procession, banquet and costume, on this occasion, were in the richest style of feudal pageantry and stately greatness, as it was conceived to be then best represented; and tho incumbered with laborious and pedantic allegories, long drawn out, and very rudely applied, yet the exhibition was so imposing to the mind of that day in its general impression, as to have made our old chronicler, the city recorder declare, "that it would be too long to rehearse what pain, labor and diligence the tailors, embroiderers and goldsmiths had taken to make and devise the garments and trappings for the occasion[44]." His admiration, if it had been possible for his gravity to have fostered so strange a guest in his thoughts as a witty allusion, might have been suspected to intend a secret satire by this language. But altho he saw that all the

[43] In the Cotton Lib. MS. Vitell. B. 2, are the original Latin Letters of Congratulation to Henry upon his marriage, from three cardinals at Naples, Milan and Trent. p. 5, 6.

[44] Hall, p. 507.

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gorgeous show of pomp is but the production and merit of the humble artizan, he neither less valued nor less honored its theatrical pictures or moving actors. It delighted his eye and excited his wonder, from whatsoever it originated; and he describes through his history, with an unwearied enjoyment, those splendid displays of external magnificence with which the first part of Henry's reign appears to have transcended all his less affluent and more martial predecessors [45].

[45] As an exhibition of the mind, manners, costume, taste, and fancy of the highest ranks in England at that time, a cursory abridgment of this splendid scene may claim a place in our notes. Such things account for Spenser's Faery Queen, and may dispose us to read it with more interest or indulgence.

On the day preceding, the king and queen went from the Tower to Westminster thro the tapestried streets, lined with the city companies in their best display. Beneath his robe of crimson velvet, furred with ermine, was his coat of raised gold, with a placard shining with rubies, emeralds, great pearls, and diamonds. Nine children of honor, on great coursers, and dressed in blue velvet, powdered with fleur-de-lys in gold, represented the nine kingdoms and provinces which he governed or claimed—England, France, Gascony, Guyenne, Normandy, Anjou, Cornwall, Wales, and Ireland.

Following her richly-dressed retinue, the Queen was seen sitting in her magnificent litter, borne by two white palfreys. Her person was, in better taste, dressed in embroidered white satin, with her 'hair hanging down to her back, of very great length, beautiful and goodly to behold, and on her head a coronal, set with many rich and orient stones.'

The coronation on the following day was accompanied with the processions and ceremonies, which have been since repeated with heraldic fidelity. The more peculiar addition was the jousts and tournaments.

The king and queen were stationed on a rich edifice, made within the palace at Westminster, where, from a fountain and its castle, at many places out of the mouths of obliging animals, ran red, white and claret wine. 'The trumpets blew to the field, and the fresh young gallants and noblemen, gorgeously apparelled, entered it, taking up and turning their horses neatly and freshly. Then followed a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold, whereon was a lady bearing a shield of crystal.' It was Minerva; who, accompanied by her six destined champions, in green velvet and gold, presented them to the king as her scholars, and desired her permission to let them be her defenders against all comers.

Another troop of horsemen was soon ushered in by drums and fifes, with coifs of gold, and high plumes on their heads. Eight knights followed in superb armor, who were introduced to the queen, and besought her leave to prove themselves against Minerva's scholars, and to have the

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The queen was five years older than the king, but as her panegyrist truly declares, was a thousand years more ancient in her manners. His description literally corresponds with the expression which he meant to be her praise. She rose in the middle of the night to attend nocturnal prayers, and yet at five o'clock in the morning left her pillow and dressed for the day. Under her royal garments she wore an habit of St. Francis, into whose third order she had been admitted. She fasted every Saturday and Sunday, and on the vigils of the Virgin took only bread and water. Twice in the week she confessed, and gave six hours without intermission every morning, in the church, to her public devotions, besides reciting the office of the Virgin during the day. For two hours after dinner she read the Lives of the Saints, while her maids of honor were standing about her; then passing again to her chapel, she spent there the remainder of the day in prayer, till the hour of supper, which she took very sparingly.

chrystal shield their prize, if they won the triumph. They jousted with each other till night, and on the next day, when they all assembled again. As the eight knights came in, a great blowing of horns announced the entrance of foresters and their pageant.

A park, with green pales, containing fallow deer, and exhibiting artificial trees, with bushes and ferns, was laboriously brought in and set before the queen; the gates were opened; the deer ran out into the palace; greyhounds pursued, caught, and killed them; and the bleeding animals were presented to the queen and her ladies by the eight knights, who now declared that they were servants to the great Diana; and that news having been brought them, that the scholars of Minerva had come for feats of arms into these parts, they had left their chase, to fight with them for the love of ladies, to the utterance. Something in their tone excited suspicion of their intention, and the queen sent to the king for his directions. Henry thought he perceived that there was a grudge between the opposing parties; and to avoid a deadly quarrel, ordered that they should only tourney together, and give a few strokes, and then separate and depart. The sumptuous rejoicings were then closed. Hall, 506–512.

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She studied personal mortification, for tho her orisons were so protracted, she knelt on the stone pavement without a cushion[46]. Sincere devotion commands our veneration, and the female sex is never more interesting nor more superior to our own, than when displaying the exalting influence of their diviner feelings. But it is impossible not to characterize these extreme habits of queen Catherine as unwise superstition. They must have extinguished all genuine emotion and intellectual sensibility, and have substituted the mechanical and exhausting ceremony, for affectionate adoration and humble gratitude. Henry is declared by one of his greatest vituperators, to have admired her for her sanctity[47]; if he did so, the kindness of the feeling ought to have obliterated many of the slanders by which, from this quarter, he has been assailed. But Catherine was not merely a devout woman, she was distinguished for literature as well as piety[48]. She is described as an example of every virtue[49]. Erasmus not only calls her as prudent as religious[50], but described her to the duke of Saxony as elegantly learned[51]. He corresponded with her himself[52].

[46] As Sanders was likely to know well the queen's habits, and is her warmest panegyrist, the detail is taken from him, being one of the few parts on which only his authority can be respected. De Schism. p. 5.

[47] Sand. p. 5.

[48] Erasmus repeatedly speaks of her with kindness and praise. In his letter of July 1518, to Bombasius, he remarks, 'she was wonderfully literate for her sex; and was not less to be respected for her piety than for her erudition.' p. 402. In 1519, he wrote, 'the queen loves letters, which she happily learnt from her infancy.' p. 533.

[49] Erasm. p. 520. [50] Ib. p. 562.

[51] 'Eleganter doctam' in his letter from Basle, of 5th Septem. 1522, p. 732. In 1529, he says, from Friburg to Montjoy, 'I so love the illustrious piety and erudition of this woman, which reproach our sloth and corrupt manners, that I seem to receive a benefit to myself, if I can do any thing pleasing to her.' p. 1233.

[52] On 1st March 1528, he wrote to her from Basle, and notices this

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She read his Latin work on Free Will, and desired his friend Ludovicus Vives to express to him the gratification which it had given her[51]. That Henry made her the companion of all his state ceremonials and festivities, is an expressive testimony that her demeanor did him credit as his queen, as it also is that his own feelings towards her were respectful and kind. Till the question of the divorce dissolved their union, they were inseparably mingled in the public eye.

as a 'rarissimum exemplum: That a woman, born and educated amid all the delights of a court, and with that indulgence of fortune which usually corrupts even settled good morals, should yet repose all her hope, all her comfort, in sacred prayers, and in reading the divine volume.' p. 1063.

[51] L. Vives thus describes it, on 13th Nov. 1525: 'Yesterday your book De Liberi arbitrio, was given to the king; he read some pages from it, '*inter sacra*,' and was visibly pleased by it. He told me that he had read it, and shewed me the place which he said had greatly delighted him; it was where you dissuade us from an immoderate scrutiny into the secrets of the divine government.

'The QUEEN also was wonderfully gratified by the very work and passage; and she ordered me to greet you in these words—'I thank you that being so great a man, and discoursing on so great a subject, you should have so governed yourself, and treated it with so much modesty.' Lud. Viv. Ep. 13.

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CHAP. II.

HENRY'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE, AND MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER.

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THE person of Henry is depicted as expressing every manly beauty; and his deportment exhibited that majesty which becomes a throne, combined with that affable courtesy which makes dignity interesting to the hearts of those whose admiration it desires. His enemies concur with his friends in this praise, and as it is almost the only point in which they agree, his bodily appearance must have greatly distinguished him, to have extorted any encomiums from those who believe and describe him to have been in other respects an impersonated Satan. Sanders, his unsparing Thersites, has declared, that he had an admirable form of body in which an august form of royal majesty shone forth[1]. And therefore, though we may not chuse to construe literally the oratory of the Venetian ambassador, spoken before him in his presence chamber; "If we look upon his face, we believe we see an Apollo; and if we contemplate his breast and shoulders, or the other parts of his body, they give us the image of a Mars[2];" yet we may suppose Moryson's interrogation to express, nearly what was felt to be the truth: "Who

[1] 'Eximiæ corporis formâ præditus, in qua etiam regiæ majestatis augusta quædam species elucebat.' De Schis. p. 4.

[2] This address, delivered on St. George's day 1515, to Henry, by sir Sebastian Justiniani, is in the British Museum, MS. Nero. B. 7. p. 15.

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can observe that august majesty of his whole body, and not say, that it was born for a diadem, and for royal robes, and for a kingdom? Who could behold that forehead, that countenance, even afar off, and not acknowlege it to be the seat of clemency, in its most serene expression[3]?"

It is however a greater commendation of the king than any personal advantages could give him, that he is stated not to have valued himself upon these, for the last writer adds,—"But I pass over the gifts of his body, which the king would never allow to have any place in his estimation[4]."

We may be inclined to ask, how then was the Venetian orator's direct flattery received? The answer to his copious rhetoric of praise, was given immediately, by the royal command, in the midst of the splendid court: "He can neither acknowlege nor glory in such things as you describe. But he refers them to God, from whom every good gift comes[5]." Henry could not be insensible to his personal distinctions; but tho he loved show, state and display, there is no intimation in the old writers, that he had that little-minded vanity which feasts itself on its accidental face and features, while others are deriding the self-admiration which it cannot conceal.

When we reflect on the copious amplifications of abuse with which the memory of Henry has been

[3] Morys. Apom. p. 63. His father's majestic expression of countenance was remarked by the Beneventan friar, J. de Cirellis, in his oration. MS. in the British Museum, 12 A. 9.

[4] Morys. Apom. p. 63.

[5] It was Js. Tayler who, in another MS. that will be quoted, is called a clerk of parliament, that delivered the answer '*in presentia regis et multorum procerum.*' MSS. Nero. B. 7. p. 18.

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as pertinaciously as indiscriminately assailed[6], the common candor of that impartial feeling, and that moral justice, which every one who exists in society is bound by mutual interest, as well as by higher principles, to exercise towards others, leads us at the outset of his history to ask, what was the general estimation of him by his associates and contemporaries who knew him well, and who judged of him without vindictive resentments. They had the best means of perceiving the truth, and are the safest guides to us in discriminating it from the clouds and falsehoods with which hostility, too violent to be honest, has deformed and concealed it. Of these the most superior both in celebrity, and in his intellect, and the most disinterested and independent of any which that age revered, in his literary life, was the amiable and intelligent Erasmus. Preferring at all times study and literature to money; courted by the great in every country that valued talents and learning, and yet enslaving himself from ambitious views or for pecuniary advantages to no one, he saw the merits and the deficiencies of all the courts, and kings, and nobles, and wealthy churchmen in Europe; and he perceived with his own eyes, more

[6] I am induced to give, at some length, the following extracts from Erasmus and others, who personally knew this depreciated king, that my readers may see that he was not that mere raw-head and bloody-bones—the blue-beard of our nursery—which it is now the fashion to represent him. Even the valuable author of the intelligent TREMAINE has suffered his pen thus to pourtray him: 'I have never been able to read of the scoundrel selfishness of our Henry 8; that detestable savage, who spared neither man in his hate, nor woman in his lust; that legal murderer, and legitimate adulterer; that hypocrite, to whom even Kirke was an angel, without feeling my blood boil over with indignation, that such a creature should be human, much more be trusted with power.' v. 3. p. 206. This is more like cardinal Pole and Sanders, than the estimate of the king's fair-judging contemporaries.

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than once, and heard with his own ears, what the king of England, whose life we are delineating, truly was, and actually did. He gave repeated sketches of what interested his feelings and fixed his admiration, in Henry's character and conduct, to many of his friends in different parts of Europe, at several successive periods during almost the first twenty-seven years of this king's reign. That the warmth of gratitude, of enthusiasm, and sometimes when addressed to the king himself, of compliment, insensibly animated his pen, it will be reasonable to believe; but after all the deductions which we may fairly make from this consideration, enough will remain to show that the general features which such a man could select for his continued approbation, and present to those whose esteem he was cultivating, must have been really existing in the original, and have been believed to be so by those to whom the picture was friendlily and unostentatiously exhibited, or Erasmus would not have persisted to depict them[7]. Flatterers may sooth the person they laud with interested adulation, but there is a secret something in the human heart that usually withholds them from commending the absent, to their familiar correspondents. Nothing is more grateful to the adulating, than to sneer in private at what they publicly extol[8].

[7] Erasmus does not seem to have thought, that in praising Henry to others, he was expressing any thing like flattery; for he adds, after an encomium of him to a dean of Bruges, in 1523, 'I may testify this of him, without suspicion of adulation; for I am not receiving, nor do I desire any thing of him.' Basle, 1 Feb. 1523. p. 761.

[8] On 10th July 1515, the much-praised Pope Leo X, wrote to Henry the following letter, in recommendation of Erasmus, displaying at the same time his medicean taste and love of literature:

'We have an attachment to men of learning, and to literature, of that

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With these views, and that they may have before them the best contemporary evidence of those times for the direction of their judgment, we purpose to lay before our readers, without comment, the simple extracts that we have found concerning Henry's character in the letters of Erasmus, and in the writings of some other literary men who then lived, prefixing and adding also others, from an eager adversary, cardinal Pole; and we shall find that for the first twenty-six years of his reign, a length of sovereignty which six only of his nineteen royal predecessors since the conquest, had reached, no monarch ever received from persons of other countries, or of his own, more ardent and undisputed panegyric. So that if Henry had died, after this length of reign, before the act of parliament for abolishing the papal supremacy in England, the mortal and yet unpardoned offence of this applauded prince, had been carried into resolute execution, no king, since Alfred the Great, would have descended to his tomb with such lavish encomiums and universal admiration from the literature of that period. If he had died the day before he signed the death warrant of Fisher

kind which is in itself good, as it is truly called, and have had from our boyhood a peculiar innate affection for it, which domestic tuition strengthens, and which, as age advances, is confirmed by our judgment.

'We have already often found that those persons who have pursued the best arts and letters, have the least of evil, and are endowed with the steadiest faith; and we know that great assistance and ornament have accrued to the christian republic, from knowlege, and from the eloquence of the learned.

'Induced by these motives, we loved our esteemed son Erasmus, of Rotterdam, whom we consider to be among the first in knowlege and the arts. He was indeed known to us in friendly intercourse, when we were in a lower condition; but was not only then known, but warmly applauded by us from those monuments of genius, which he has committed to writing.' The pope then strongly solicits Henry's favor to him. Ep. Er. 1. p. 157.

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and decided on that of sir Thomas More, he would have nearly rivalled our great Saxon benefactor, not indeed in talent, literature or actions, in his historical praise, and perhaps in the public gratitude.

In the decline of his life, when conspiracies and insurrections endangered him, changes certainly began, which will be noticed in their due place, which have been since applied with undistinguishing confusion to his whole character. But the present age is desirous to rescue itself from prejudices of every sort, and therefore it will be justice to his real merits to remember, that his reign lasted nearly thirty-eight years, and that for above two-thirds of this period his celebrity shone unchallenged and unclouded, and was accompanied thro all Europe for that long interval, with the harmonious voices, from all parts, of unanimous applause[9].

It was only in his latter years, after he was assailed by an infuriated and deadly animosity which never ceased to pursue him while he lived; and when the vices of others roused his own worst passions into activity, and brought on emergencies which gave them a fatal effect; that the darker and censurable feelings and actions appeared, which altho sanctioned by his constitutional counsellors, have attached to his memory its proverbial

[9] Even the foreign writer, who describes, in 1535, the trial and execution of sir Thomas More with much pathetic affection for him, yet on that occasion, so unfavorable to any kind recollection of Henry, says of the king, 'If I had been of his council I would have endeavored to have persuaded him, that from his accustomed clemency, and for those other virtues by which his name has *hitherto* been so pleasing and so amiable *among all nations*, he should have abstained,' &c. It is printed among the letters of Erasmus, and in Roper's Life of More, app. p. 181. Singer's ed.

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reproaches, and compel, from our humaner feelings, and more enlightened reason, both regret and blame. It is impossible now to think cruelty laudable or even necessary. Judgment, fortitude, philosophy, and christianity, alike consign it to reprobation and contempt; whether a coif, a mitre, or a diadem, cover the head that devises or encourages the perpetration. It comes upon the mind like the hallucination of some evil power; and converts whoever practises it into a resemblance to what suggests it. But whether it originate from hurried alarm, from malign impulse, or from a partial derangement, it infatuates while it continues, and disgraces beyond the power, even of repentance to obliterate.

Having made these remarks, that our discriminations of Henry's character may not be mistaken to be an apology for what no one should justify, it becomes our duty to separate these two unequal portions of his life and reputation from each other, and to mention that the following testimonies of what he was thought or described to be in the former of them, apply to the earlier period, and extend to the forty-fourth year of his biography.

The description of cardinal Pole, in the midst of his invectives against Henry, for abasing the papal power in England, written after he had reigned nearly thirty years, may be read as an unsuspicious delineation, which its truth only could have extorted from such an irritated pen. "I should lie if I said that he was formerly such as he now is. From what he then was, all that was excellent might have been hoped for: he was, indeed, altogether kinglike. The highest attachment to piety and cultivation of

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religion appeared in him: a great love of justice: a nature that then seemed not averse from clemency; and such a liberality, that he not only willingly bestowed where there was need, but spontaneously invited many to virtue by his rewards, and honored those who possessed it by his presents. Nor did he make any difference, whether the object was his own countrymen or a foreigner, but wherever he saw virtue shining, he judged it worthy of his rewarding, and he did reward it [10]."

The effect of this royal conduct, which reminds us of some of Asser's praises of Alfred, the cardinal thus confesses: "Hence, many foreigners, who were eminent in literature, and in other arts, flocked to him, as the best judge of virtue, and its most munificent rewarder. From these causes he began to be renowned, and pre-eminently dear, not only to our countrymen, but to many other nations. The reputation of his piety at that time peculiarly augmented his celebrity [11]."

The cardinal sketches him as advantageously in another hostile book. "How great a hope you formerly gave to every one when young! Living not only for the happiness of yourself, but of all; golden ages were expected from your sovereignty. What did not these illustrious virtues promise, which most eminently shone forth in you during the first years of your reign—piety, justice, clemency, liberality and prudence. Besides all these, nature had also given you a certain ingenuous modesty, which as it wonderfully adorned that age, so it both

[10] Abel. R. Pol. ad Car. p. 86. [11] Pole, ib.

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preserved your existing virtues, and excited in the minds of all a confident hope of your future happiness. By your most wise father's kind care literature had been added, like streams diffused upon a well-sown garden[12]."

With such admissions from a pen so vituperative of Henry as the books from which these are taken shew Pole's to have been, we may turn with better confidence to the congenial language, but kinder feelings of Erasmus.

That he had brought back his father to existence, in every regal endowment so completely, that the former king, instead of departing, seemed only to have reflourished in renewed youth, was the private language of this scholar to a friend, when Henry had reigned three years[13]. After as much more experience of him, the same writer assured cardinal Raphael, that nothing could be conceived better or happier than the king's nature[14].

But to avoid confusion, it may be advisable to arrange the qualities and conduct applauded in Henry under four heads. I. His manners and morals. II. His attention to national improvements. III. His intellectual talents and acquisitions. IV. His love and encouragement of literature.

[12] Pole de Eccl. Unit. p. 73. He also says to Henry, 'The deity adorned you most accumulatively with every good, both of body and mind; and turned the minds of all to love you, as well for your virtues as for the most certain hope of the national felicity.' p. 80, fol. ed.

[13] Er. Epist. to J. Baptist, 11 Nov. 1512. p. 119. Five years afterwards Erasmus had seen enough of the king to tell him that he surpassed his father. p. 263.

[14] Ep. 31 March 1515. p. 145. He also tells the cardinal, that the king was a youth '*planæ divinæ cujusdam indolis*, and initiated not inelegantly in good letters. You would recognize in him something singular in this respect, and a genius worthy of a kingdom.' ib.

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Under these classes of topics, we will cite the descriptions of Erasmus, in his familiar letters [15], and add the sentiments of a few others, that the reader may make his own estimate of the probable truth, or possible partiality, of these contemporaneous commendations, and of the justice of his subsequent upbraiders.

I.—HIS MANNERS AND MORALS.

"No one is more polite in an interview; no one less proud or supercilious, yet always preserving the royal dignity undiminished [16]."

"Nothing can be desired more courteous, or more modest, than the prince [17]."

"When I went to England on my private business, the king spontaneously embraced me with wonderful amenity [18]."

"Who among private persons is more observant of the laws than yourself? Who is more uncorrupt? Who more tenacious of his promises; who more constant in friendship; who has a greater love of what is equitable and just? What house among all your subjects present such an example of a chaste and concordant wedlock as your own? There you find a wife emulous to resemble the best of husbands [19]."

Henry's behaviour to Erasmus, as depicted by the latter, is an expressive display of his moral demeanor.

[15] It may not be displeasing to the classical reader to see a few of the traits which Longolius has remarked of Erasmus in the terse Latinity of the Dutch critic.

'In Erasmo plus carnis, cutis, coloris; plus facilitatis; creber facetiis, plurimum delectationi tribuit. Erasmus arte, subtilitate, lenitate, jucundidate ad victoriam contendit. Hunc amare possis; huic favere. Hic suaviter allicit; ducit blanditiis. Venustus, modestus, popularis, floridus, verborum supellectili dives, compositione simul expeditus, simul nitidus; frequens exemplis, densus argumentis; gratus salibus.' See the comparison of him with Budæus, in Jortin's Eras. v. 1. p. 149–151.

[16] Ep. from Antwerp to Henry, 15 May 1519. p. 440.

[17] Ep. to Hutter, 20 July 1519. p. 474.

[18] Ep. to Bilbald from Louvan, 2 Nov. 1517. p. 267.

[19] Ep. to Henry, 15 May 1519. p. 439.

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Pace, in 1518, wrote to this elegant scholar, who had neither birth, fortune, nor high situations, to recommend him. "The kindness of the king towards you increases every day, and he is very often speaking in your praise[20]."

But it was ten years afterwards, as Erasmus was declining into the infirmities of age, that Henry's attentions were most personally soothing. In February 1528, Erasmus wrote to his friend Pace from Basle: "The archbishop and the king, with letters written most affectionately to me, invite me to England[21]." He states this more fully to sir Thomas More. "The king's epistle, most courteously written, by which he invites me to England, gave me much comfort. He promises all things worthy of a most benign prince. He reminds me, that I had formerly written, that I should chuse England for the seat of my old age. But, indeed, things are now in that state with me, that I ought to look around for the place of my tomb[22]."

[20] Ep. from Richmond, 5 April 1518. p. 309. Henry and Wolsey had the year before offered Erasmus handsome apartments and 600 florins a year. He says, 'I thanked them, but neither accepted nor rejected the offered conditions.' p. 268. He seems to have declined it, because the conditions would have interfered with his independence.

[21] Ep. p. 1060. Longolius, 29th Jan. 1519, in the letter mentioned in note 15, drew a comparison between Budæus and Erasmus; and wondered that Francis I. should prefer the latter; but time has confirmed the French king's judgment. The fame of Erasmus still sails on its ocean; but Budæus has almost disappeared. It is his wife of whom Mr. D'Israeli has given these pleasing traits. 'The frequent companion of his studies, she brought him the books he required, to his desk: she compared passages and transcribed quotations. The same genius, the same inclinations, and the same ardor for literature, eminently appeared in these two fortunate persons. Far from withdrawing her husband from his studies, she was sedulous to animate him when he languished. Ever at his side, and ever assiduous: ever with some useful book in her hand, she acknowleged herself to be a most happy woman. Yet she did not neglect the education of eleven children.' Cur. Lit. v. 2. p. 50.

[22] Ib.

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To the king himself, in the following June, he thus returned his acknowledgments:

"Harassed by the labors I am sustaining in assisting some studies beyond my strength, and by a most afflicted state of health, which, if age had been absent, would have been itself a most grievous burthen, and distressed still more by the incurable evils of the church, and by the furious persecutions of the bad, I was almost exhausted—when, lo! beyond all expectation, the letter of your majesty. It invites me so affectionately into England, that it is like calling a person very near a shipwreck, from a most raging tempest, into a most tranquil harbour. It promises all things not suitable to my merits, which are none, but conformable to the feelings of a most clement prince. I can scarcely express, O, illustrious king! how much strength, how much gladness, I have received from these letters, so condescendingly written. But I am dissuaded from the journey by age, every day growing more oppressive; by a health more frail than glass, which I can but badly guard, even by hiding myself at home; by the length of the way, which is not safe from robbers; by the sea, that few find pleasant; and by fierce rumors of war. A disorder occurred to me about Easter, which so shook me, that I thought I was about to be transmitted to a happier life." He closes with expressions of very earnest thankfulness[28].

After these verbal delineations of his character, it is desirable to know some instances of his actual conduct. We have one specimen of his spontaneous behaviour on a trying occasion. When the king was preparing for his first war against France, he was informed by two friars, that the founder of St. Paul's school, doctor Colet, had declared, in a public sermon, that the most inequitable peace was preferable to the justest war. Such an attack upon the king's measures, then a young man about to seek military glory, and desirous that what he did should be popular, was expected to ruin the obnoxious

[28] Cur. Lit. v. 2. p. 1084.

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dean. But Henry felt the value of his sincerity, and instead of resenting it, privately exhorted him to continue freely his tuition, that he might improve the very corrupt manners of his age; and not to withdraw the light of his mind from times so exceedingly dark. The king added, that he was not ignorant that such efforts were rousing even bishops against him, but was satisfied that his life and sacred teaching would produce great benefit to the British nation, and promised him protection[24].

II.—HENRY'S ATTENTION TO NATIONAL IMPROVEMENT.

"Who is more dexterous in war than Henry VIII. or more wise in framing laws, or more foreseeing in council? Who is more vigilant in coercing the licentiousness of wickedness; more diligent in chusing magistrates and officers, or more effectual in treaties of conciliation between kings[25]?"

"O, bosom truly royal! O lofty mind, worthy of a christian monarch! Altho no king is better furnished with all the means of war, yet you apply all your study, and all your powers, to make the peace of the world.

"That this disposition was not assumed by you for a time

[24] Knight's Life of Colet, p. 1778. The king soon after gave him another proof of his good temper and sound judgment on this trying subject.

Colet preached again, with great eloquence, on the duty of appeasing the discords that arose between princes; and that christians, instead of rushing into wars, should imitate the forbearance of their Saviour, and not the ferocity of an Alexander or a Cæsar. Henry hearing of it, became apprehensive that it might disincline his army from the attack he was meditating against France, and sent for Colet to Greenwich. Walking with him in the garden, the king told him he wished his spiritual advice, and then explained the public grounds on which he was undertaking the war; and asked him, as a favor, to state in his next sermon, the reasons which justified a defensive war for preserving the safety of the christian community. Such a war Colet thought to be defensible, and made so forcible a sermon upon it, that Henry exclaimed, 'Let others choose their own doctors, and prefer them, but this man shall be mine.' Antiq. Britan. p. 306; and Er. Epist. J. Jonæ. p. 579. Knight's Colet, 0-2.

[25] Epist. May 1519. p. 438.

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only, but has been implanted in you by nature, was manifested in the French war, in which you conducted yourself so mildly and so clemently, that it was clear that peace was in your heart, and that it was the danger of the christian church, and of the whole world, which called you to arms.

"Not contented with this, you strove to adorn the pacification you had obtained, from your prudence and authority, by the POLITE ARTS, lest it should seem to be inertness or indolence, or become the mistress of luxury and bad pleasures.

"The robberies, from which nothing had been safe in England, you restrained with an admirable severity. You drive away the guilty; you free your dominions from idle vagabonds; you recal its vigor by good laws; you remove the useless; you supply the beneficial[26]."

III.—HIS INTELLECTUAL TALENTS AND ACQUISITIONS.

Pace, in 1517, wrote, "I have had this experience of his learning, that I have heard him speak Latin promptly and fluently[27];" and the Venetian ambassador describes him as knowing Latin, French, German and Spanish, as if he had been a native in each country that spoke them[28].

Erasmus wrote to sir Henry Guildford of him:

"To omit other endowments, which he has so fully in common with other kings, that in them he is inferior to none; who can be more acute in arguing than he is? Who more happy in his invention; more sound in judgment; more graceful in his elocution[29]?"

"What prince has excited more respect than you in every regal function? Who is more attentive to restrain crimes; who consults more warily, or foresees more discerningly; who has more presence of mind in execution? Even in literature, of

[26] Epist. May 1519. p. 439.
[27] Pace in his 'de fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur,' cited by Jortin, vol. 3. p. 54.
[28] MSS. Nero. B. 7. p. 15.
[29] From Antwerp, 15 May 1519. p. 438.

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which your majesty had formerly so happy a taste, you have, without much study perhaps, advanced so far, that the soundness and acuteness of your mind would be surprising in the most learned theologians. In a discussion which you lately had with a most informed and subtle divine on preaching, what dexterity you exhibited[30]!"

"A king, admirably stored with all the endowments of a complete prince[31]."

"The book which his majesty has written against Luther, I have seen only in the hands of the apostolic nuncio; but I do not doubt that it will be worthy of his most happy genius, because that is surprisingly good to whatever it may apply itself. He used to be exceedingly pious."

"We who cultivate and love good letters, should be most ungrateful if we did not revere and love that genius which, in a wonderful manner, adorns and commends our studies[32]."

Erasmus thus also described Henry, in September 1522, to the duke of Saxony:

"This prince has a genius singularly happy and versatile, which prevails in an incredible manner to whatever subject he may direct himself. When a boy, he exercised his style with some diligence, and even wrote some letters to me. A few years ago, he composed a theological argument, on the question, whether a laic should be obliged to use vocal prayer. He delights in the books of the scholastics; and at his table is accustomed to argue on theological subjects. Sometimes the liberal discussion is protracted till very late at night[34]."

"If he has a style not very different from mine, it is neither surprising nor novel, because, when a boy, he earnestly revolved my lucubrations. Montjoy, formerly my scholar, and who was then the companion of his studies, prompted him to this[34]."

[30] From Antwerp, 15 May 1519. p. 440.
[31] Ep. to Guildford from Louvan, 18 Oct. 1519. p. 512.
[32] Ep. to Pace, Bruss. 23 Aug. 1521. p. 660.
[33] Ep. p. 732.
[34] Eras. Ep. ib. 732. He expressed this also to J. Glasion: 'The king, when a boy, read nothing more diligently than my compositions, from which he may have contracted some indifferent phrases.' p. 743.

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IV.—HIS LOVE AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE, ARTS, AND SCIENCES.

In addition to the preceding extracts, the following quotations will reward a perusal, as so few sovereigns have distinguished themselves by a literary taste or patronage:

"Altho with a rare perspicacity of mind you are distinguished by your own intelligence, yet you delight in the familiar conversations of the prudent and the erudite, and chiefly of those who never speak to gain favor; as if you had read that passage in Sophocles, which I do not doubt you have: 'kings become wise by intercourse with the wise.'

"Amid so much business of your kingdom, or rather of the world, scarcely a single day passes in which you do not apply some portion of your time in turning over books. You rejoice to converse with the sages of ancient times, who least of all can flatter, and especially with such books as you cannot leave without being wiser, better, and more useful to your kingdom.

"In this you differ greatly from the opinion of those who think, that excellent princes ought to avoid most carefully both books and study of philosophy; or that if they should handle any books, they ought to peruse nothing but ridiculous tales, scarcely worthy of an old woman's notice, and the mere imitations of folly and vice." He then mentions that he had dedicated to the king, his Latin translations of Plutarch's Treatise on the way to distinguish a flatterer from a friend[35]."

"We are compelled to give four months to editing the New Testament. This done, I will devote myself entirely to the commands of your majesty. It has pleased you in your benignity towards good letters, to offer me, unasked, a permanent fortune, and that not a middling one[36]."

To the preceptor and physician of the archduke Ferdinand, Erasmus wrote from London:

[35] Ep. to Henry from Antwerp, 9 Sept. 1517. p. 263.
[36] Ep. from Louvan, 25 April 1518. p. 319.

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"I wish many like you, that our court might imitate Britain, which is full of men most learned in all kinds of studies. The erudite stand round the royal table. There little questions of literature are agitated which relate to the education of a prince, or to some subject of good morals. In brief, the company of the palace is such, that there is no academy you would not undervalue in comparison with it[37]."

To Budæus at Paris:

"The king of England; whose benignity invites the professors of these things into every academy in his dominions[38]."

He mentions to sir Henry Guildford:

"While the banquets of priests and theologians are overflowing with wine; are replete with scurrilous jests, and are roaring with a tumult not very sober, discussions are modestly carried on at the table of the prince, upon subjects of erudition and piety. Where are they now who pretend, that the knowlege of letters hurts the vigor of a prince[39]?"

To Henry himself he remarks:

"You promote the study of the best letters. You restore the discipline of piety among all, but *especially* among the monks and clergy, not ignorant that it is from these persons that integrity or corruption chiefly flow to the populace. You effect this, by so acting, that the principal honors shall be given to those who most excel by integrity of manners, or by superior learning, or, what is most beautiful as well as most rare, in both. It will be hereafter deemed most becoming, that a prince should be acquainted with literature[40]."

He exclaims to lord Albert:

"Good letters triumph among the English. The king himself, with his queen; both the cardinals, and almost all the bishops, now with all their hearts, defend, cherish, nourish and adorn them[41]."

[37] Ep. 13 Feb. 1519. He adds, 'Ludovicus Vives is with us. He is not beyond his 26th year; but there is no part of philosophy in which he is not more than commonly instructed.' p. 415.
[38] Ep. 17 Feb. 1519. p. 417.
[39] Ep. from Antwerp, 16 May 1519. p. 437.
[40] Ep. ib. 439. 441.
[41] Ep. 20 May 1519. p. 441.

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To his friend Barisius he wrote from Brussels, with an evident allusion to a very different taste there:

"Letters would triumph, if we had such a king at home as there is in England. The king there, himself not unlearned, but with most piercing talents, openly protects good letters and imposes silence on all brawlers. Cardinal York restores all studies to a better condition, and invites all, every where, to the love of them, by his benignity. Nor does cardinal Campejo otherwise, a very learned man. The king's court has more men excelling in erudition, than any academy[42]."

We will add only one more passage of Erasmus on this subject, from his letter to Ulric Hutter, when Henry was twenty-eight years old:

"This most wise king admits such men into his family; and not only permits them to come to his private chamber, but even invites, and not only invites, but drags them in. He has these as the arbiters and witnesses of his life. These are in his counsels. These are the companions of his journeys. He delights to be surrounded by these, rather than by young men lost in luxury; or by women; or by gold-chained nobles[43]."

Two epistles of MELANCTHON to Henry, deserve our notice, because his reputation on those points, subsisted to the latter part of his reign. In 1535, this applauded scholar wrote from Wittemberg:

"Diffidence deterred me from writing to you until my friend, Dr. Antonius, confirmed my purpose, who having beheld your heroic virtue, has inflamed me with the communication of your praises. I had always thought, as nothing is more amiable or

[42] Ep. 21 June 1519. p. 463. The opposition of the brawlers here alluded to, is mentioned elsewhere. He said to Guildford, 'some still resist with hands and feet, and pertinacious minds, retaining their ancient ignorance.' p. 438. So Pace mentions the objections of an English gentleman: 'These foolish letters will end in some bad business. All learned men are poor; even the most learned Erasmus I hear is poor; and in one of his letters, calls cursed poverty his wife.' Jort. App. v. 3. p. 54.

[43] Ep. from Antwerp, 23 July 1519. p. 474.

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divine than a good and beneficial prince, that your majesty deserved the love of all good men for your excellent moderation and justice, tho in the highest power.

"But you deserve great things from our order, and from those studious of learning, because you transcend, by far, the other kings and princes of this age, in adorning and exciting honorable studies.

"I have always admired your happiness and wisdom on this subject. On judging that the care of letters was worthy of a great prince, your majesty has perceived what an ornament they are to a state; how important they are to the preservation of human society and to religious accordance. It has been a great happiness, that England at the same time brought forth so many excellent luminaries of genius, that one can enumerate many that in the praise of learning may be compared with the greatest men that have ever flourished. In wealth you have surpassed all the kings of your age, and performed excellent things in war, but you have principally deserved the love of all nations, and of posterity, for having cherished and protected the study of letters[44]."

The other letter from Melancthon, was sent six years afterwards, to recommend an optician to Henry's patronage:

"It is a great honor to your royal majesty, that in these most difficult times, you ALONE among kings, both understand and cherish the study of letters and of true philosophy.

"Among philosophical studies, that of Optics which inquires into the diversities of light and mirrors, is full of instruction. Indeed what is the human mind itself, but a mirror for the image of the divine mind?

"In this science the artisan Michael, a citizen of Leipsic, now excels, and means to go to your majesty because he understands

[44] Melanc. Ep. 13 March 1535. p. 20. He suggests to the king, 'the present danger of letters; not only in other kingdoms, but in Germany itself, letters are *despised* by the unjust judgment of men. They are urged into odium on account of the religious controversies. It will therefore be a most benign act of your wisdom to excite right studies, and to afford an asylum to the expelled muses. Formerly, when from the Gothic arms learning was nearly extinguished in Europe, it was again propagated over the whole world from your island.' Ib. p. 421.

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that you love the exhibitions of genius. He has asked me to assure you of his probity. He will show your majesty some surprizing performances worthy the consideration of the ingenious. If you should approve of the specimen of his powers, he will display to you still greater works, and now begs admission to exhibit them to you[45]."

In May 1536, Melancthon recommended to his attention a Flemish knight[46], and the idea which arises to the impartial mind at such facts is, that no small merit, both moral and intellectual, must have been and have been believed to be in that king, who could allow a foreign and undignified man of letters, that had nothing but his talents and knowlege to give him weight, thus to introduce strangers to his notice, with any prospect that his recommendations could avail them.

To this branch of our subject may be added Melancthon's dedication of his Loci Theologici to Henry, from Germany, in the year 1536, in the 28th year of his reign, and the 46th of his age:

"We have heard that you are excellently learned, as well in the Sacred Scriptures as in other philosophy, and that with the most penetrating inquisitiveness and the greatest prudence, you are peculiarly versed in that most beautiful part of it which contemplates the heavenly motions and effects, in which, both on account of the dignity of the things themselves and of their very great utilities in the business of life, we have read, that the greatest and wisest kings have at all times delighted.

"To so great a knowlege of the most excelling arts, you attach other virtues worthy of a great prince; justice in government; care to preserve peace; greatness of mind; piety, clemency, and an attractive goodness, which, as it is apparent in other affairs, shines also in this, that in your kingdom, no cruelty has been exercised towards those good and moderate men who are desirous of a purer ecclesiastical doctrine; while in other

[45] Mel. Ep. p. 490.

[46] Mel. Ep. p. 491.

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countries, the wrath of princes is burning unmeasureably on such subjects[47]."

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Of the king's liberality of mind on subjects of learning, an expressive indication has been preserved. While the study of Greek was considered by some of the clergy as the seed bud of heresy, and a youth was found pursuing it at Oxford; one preacher thought fit to declaim violently against it in his public sermon. The king who was in the vicinity, being informed of the transaction by Pace and More, and wishing to favor literary improvement, sent expressly to command, that those who chose to attach themselves to the Grecian literature should not be molested; but the hostility to it was so active, that a divine preaching before Henry at court, began to inveigh furiously against it and its new interpreters. Pace, who was with the king, looked at him to see how he bore it. Henry gently smiled at Pace, and sending for the clergyman, desired More to defend the cause of Greek in his presence, against him. More very eloquently praised it; when the declaimer, instead of answering him, fell on his knees, asked forgiveness, and chose to declare that what he had uttered against Greek was from an impulse of the spirit; "of the spirit of folly," remarked Henry, "not of your Saviour[48]."

The following further extracts, from Erasmus, are not unworthy of a perusal:

1518.—"That king, who is not less pre-eminent in the study

[47] Mel. Ep. p. 492. The reader must remember that the latter encomium was made in 1536. From that time we have to regret that Henry suffered himself to imitate too much those other princes, from whom Melancthon was now so justly and so creditably distinguishing him.

[48] See the account from the description of Erasmus in Knight's Life of Colet, p. 52-3.

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of the most honorable things, than for the opulence of his state, by whose judgment it is a greater honor to be approved, than to be adorned by his munificence [49]."

1519.—" It was the desire of the best of kings to have in his family men distinguished for gravity, wisdom and integrity. You will rarely find any court but it has much noise and ambition, much false glare, much luxury, and often tyranny. But if you should live in this court, Hutton! I know you well enough to be sure that you would correct your description of another court, and cease to be a court hater [50]."

To bishop Fisher, and to Bombasius, in 1518, he distinguished the superiority of the English court. To the first wrote as if in a desponding moment:

" My mind desires to withdraw from this most wicked age. The artifices of princes; the impudencies of the court of Rome have reached their summit, and the state of the people is soon likely to be such, that it will be more tolerable to endure even the tyranny of the Turks. To you, then, I will entirely fly, as to another world, and perhaps the least untainted part of the christian hemisphere [51]."

To Bombasius he exclaimed:

" You know, best of men! how I shall always shrink from the palaces of princes. That kind of life I cannot judge to be any other than a splendid misery, and a personated happiness. Yet it would be pleasant to emigrate to such a court as that of England, if I could but grow young again [52]."

To these representations of Henry's qualities and character, it may be added, that sir Thomas More, who is usually supposed to have been too upright to flatter, incidentally mentions " his blessed disposition [53];" " his most singular bounty [54];" " being so

[49] Ep. Louvan, 25 April. p. 319.
[50] Ep. Antwerp, 23 July. p. 474. [51] Ep. 306. [52] Epist. 307.
[53] ' The king used, of his *blessed* disposition in the prosecuting of his great matter, only those whose conscience he perceiveth well and fully persuaded upon that point.' More's Letter of Feb. 1534. Roper's Life, p. 118.
[54] More's Letter, Roper, p. 131. Singer's ed. Erasmus says of Henry's

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virtuous a prince[55];" "abiding of his abundant goodness gracious lord unto every man, and never willing to put any man into ruffle or trouble of conscience[56]." CHAP. II.

In the noble liberality of mind here intimated, even this jocular chancellor was unable to imitate him; for More persecuted severely those who diverged into what he called heresy[57].

By the biographer of Wolsey, apparently from the cardinal's suggestion, the king is represented, in the first years after his accession, as averse from business[58]; an unwise, but not an unpardonable fault, between eighteen and twenty-one. The more unfavorable opinions which Wolsey expressed about him, were an unsparing sturdiness of self-will[59]. And what is singular, considering how much Pole

conduct to More, 'The king presented him with a magnificent present, tho neither craving nor soliciting it, with a handsome salary, altho there was a competitor for it, and he a man sufficiently agreeable, who very earnestly sought for it.' 20 June 1519. Ep. p. 68.

[55] Roper, p. 117.

[56] Ib. p. 118.

[57] More gives this account of the king's honorable conduct to him, even about his divorce question.

'He graciously declared unto me, that he would in no wise that I should do or say therein other than what I should perceive mine own conscience would serve me; and that I should *first* look unto God, and after God to him.' Roper, p. 118.

[58] The king was young and lusty, disposed all to mirth and pleasure, and to follow his desire and appetite, nothing minding to travel in the busy affairs of his realm.' Cavend. Wolsey, p. 19.

[59] Part of Wolsey's last words were; 'He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. Be assured, what matter ye put in his head, ye shall never put it out again.' Cav. Wols. i. p. 321. When More was congratulated on the king's walking arm in arm with him, he said,—'I believe he doth as singularly affect me as any subject within his realm; howbeit, if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to go.' Roper's Life, p. 22.

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arraigns him for being lavish, that he was peculiarly avaritious[60]. Yet his negotiations certainly shew, that he paid great attention to the pecuniary conditions of his treaties.

To this detail as to his character, may be subjoined the casual remarks of an Italian, and a Frenchman, upon him; valuable for being brief and unstudied sketches, from their general feelings concerning him.

Contarini, who had seen the king in England[61], tho he became as displeased with him as Pole for abandoning the papal see, yet exclaims of him, in a private letter, "How can it be, that a mind so mild and so benign, which seemed formed by nature to deserve well of human kind, can be so changed[62]." An incidental compliment, perhaps more impressive, than the elaborate phrases of a studied panegyric.

The passing touch of an approving pencil is also carelessly given in the contemporary memoirs of the chevalier Bayard. "When Henry arrived at the siege of Terouenne, it need not be asked, if there was not an extravagant joy, for he was a pleasant and a liberal prince[63]."

[60] It was in his secret conferences with the diplomatic bishop of Bayonne, that Wolsey, amid his vexations of mind at his own decline of influence, thus mentioned this trait: 'He knows his master to be the most avaritious man in the world.' 3 Le Grand, p. 167.

[61] Contarini was in England with Charles V. in June 1522. Beccatelli, p. 101. And the cardinal, who was an amiable man, in his letter of 22 May 1537, says of Henry, 'whose good qualities *I have known*.' p. 58.

[62] In his letter from Rome, of 12th May 1537, 2 Pole. Ep. p. 31. These traits correspond with Sebastiani's phrases: 'Who more engaging in urbanity? who more sweet in affability? who more decorous and elegant in behaviour?' MSS. Nero, B. 7. p. 15.

[63] Mem. Bayard. p. 343. These appeared in 1527.

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The reader has now before him as large a picture as can be furnished of what the most eminent of his contemporaries thought and expressed of Henry up to his forty-seventh year[64]. Whether, if he possessed till that time the qualities that were so long applauded, they could be entirely extinguished in him, when a new political situation led to the cruelties which sullied his last ten years, the moral philosopher may reasonably doubt. These unfavorable additions, and their causes, will be considered in a future chapter; but it is important to note, that Pole, his severest censor[65], more than once intimates, that if he would have fully submitted himself again to the papal see, he would have appeared in all his pristine amiability[66]; at least, would

[64] The latter quotations in this chapter, More's, were written when the king was 47; Contarini's, when he was 47; Pole's, when he was 44.

[65] Pole felt that he was so; for he says, 'If any contumely of words can show a hostile mind, I have said those things on your name and actions which no enemy ever objected to you; nor could any one who should be pre-eminently in a hostile mind against you, object more.' De Eccl. Un. l. 4. p. 413. 12mo.

[66] 'Penitentiam age, princeps! penitentiam age,' says Pole; and 'you will not have fallen with so much disgrace as you will rise again with honor.' p. 481. To confess his error, and to repent or to do penance; for in the Romish use of the word penitentiam, the latter is the practical and professional meaning. What he peculiarly requires him to do this penitentiam for, is, he says, ob hoc tantum, that when his reason approved one thing, and the custom of the church another, he preferred his reason to the consent of the church. 'Hoc quidem princeps! maximum peccatum est.' This, indeed, O prince, is the greatest sin. p. 425. But if he will after penance return to the church, and if Anne Boleyn will also; she whom Pole had repeatedly called a strumpet will in that case, he says, 'make no loss of her honor; then, if the king should take her again, their loves would be suaviores et dulciores; then not in honesta concupiscentia, but Christ would unite them. The king also, ad ecclesiam rediens, would be totum renatum, entirely reborn; his youth would be renovated like that of the eagle.' p. 467. He would then be made nobiliorem et prestantiorem than all the rest who had ever held this empire. p. 468.

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have been so considered and represented by those who, for his revolt from it, were passionately painting him as a moral mulatto, without, however, being quite convinced that he actually was such[67]. But Henry broke from the papal supremacy without reinstating it; and after his daughter Mary had tried to re-impose its yoke in England, her superior sister Elizabeth emancipated her subjects from its debilitating despotism for ever. Neither Henry, therefore, has been forgiven, as the first sovereign who had the courage to begin the liberation, nor the unfortunate mother of the queen who completed it. Both stand blackened, in the pages of Sanders and cardinal Allen[68], with all the vituperations of the most palpable falsehoods; and their slanders and revilings have been more or less repeated even to our own times, by the ecclesiastical advocates of Romish supremacy. And while events and patrons encourage a hope of re-constructing the dilapidated edifice, we cannot expect that the prejudices and acrimonious feelings will sufficiently subside, to allow judgment to exert its uncorrupted candor in those who aspire to build, once more, the papal

[67] That Pole had a high opinion of Henry, even while he was reviling him, I infer from this passage in his letter from Padua to Paul III:—'When I think of his excellent dispositon (egregiam indolem), when I consider the illustrious seeds of virtue and religion formerly put within him, tho all human virtues, however they may excel in any one, may for a time be oppressed by a course of prosperity, I cannot actually despair but that they will yet again emerge and shine in him even to the greater glory of the God who has given them. I say, however others may despair, I cannot but most greatly hope.' Cardinal Quirini quotes this, v. 3. p. 7. Henry was 45 when this was written.

[68] See the virulent and treasonable admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, by Allen, calling himself the cardinal of England, printed 1588.

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monarchy in Europe; or who may expect to share in the dignities and comforts that would flow to many from its re-possessioned establishments [69].

CHAP. II.

[69] Henry sometimes rewarded those he favored, by procuring for them respectable or affluent wives. The following is one of the letters, recommending W. Simmonds, one of his household, to Mrs. Coward, a widow of Southampton. There is nothing in it dictatorial or tyrannical. It is in a good-natured and condescending strain, and being probably the king's own composition, may be read as a natural exhibition of his style, and friendliness of temper:—

'Dear and well-beloved,

'We greet you well, letting you know our trusty and well-beloved servant, William Simmonds, one of the servants of our chamber, hath shewed unto us, that for the womanly disposition, good and virtuous behaviour, and other commendable virtues, which he hath not only heard reported, but also seen and perceived in you himself, at his last being in those parts, he hath so set his heart and mind, that he is very desirous to honor you, by way of marriage, before all other creatures living; and for the admonishment of this his good and laudable purpose, he hath made humble suit unto us to write unto you, and others your loving friends, in his favor. We, considering our said servant's commendable requests, his honest conversation, and other manifold virtues, with also the true and faithful service heretofore many sundry ways done unto us, as well in our wars as otherwise, and that he daily doeth about our person, to our singular contentation and pleasure: for the which we assure you we do tender his person accordingly well, do desire you, at the contemplation of these our letters, to be of like benevolent mind towards our said servant in such wise that matrimony may shortly be solemnized between you both, whereby, in our opinion, you shall not only do the thing to the singular comfort of you both in time to come, but by your so doing, you may assure you, in all the causes reasonable of you or your friends to be pursued unto by your servant hereafter, ye shall have us good and gracious lord to you both. And to the intent that ye shall give unto this our desire the more faithful credence, we do send you here inclosed a token, praying you to intender the matter accordingly.' Lodge Illust. v. 1. p. 29.

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CHAP. III.

HENRY'S PASTIMES, TASTES, AND FAVORITE ACTIVE PURSUITS.

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SUCCEEDING to the crown as he was completing his eighteenth year, it is not surprising that the king was at first too little attached, for the dignity and duties of his high office, to the difficult business of the state, which, from the rising greatness of England, and the political movements and changes on the continent, was becoming more than usually intricate and important. Young, cheerful, admired, and happy; disposed by temper to the mirthful and the pleasurable [1], and surrounded by many who most benefitted themselves by gratifying and amusing him, it is a probable statement that he was as desirous to leave the chief conduct of public affairs to his ministers, as they are noticed to have been wisely solicitous to attract him to a participation and co-operation in their councils. Their efforts and his own good sense produced in no long time those habits of business which his own dignity and the national welfare required. But altho the diplomatic papers which yet abundantly remain, evince how sedulously thro his reign he attended to all his foreign affairs, yet his first passion and his favorite occupations were to imitate the habit and prowess, and to realize the fabled pageantry of the knights

[1] Cavend. Wolsey, p. 19.

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of the old romances. It was in the course of the natural progress of the human mind that those who were emerging out of the mere warriors of antique chivalry into habits of reading and literature, should first value and seek those compositions which, as resembling their former habits, most affected their sensibilities, and seemed to present them with pleasing images of themselves. It is certain that the old romances which in the reign of Henry VI. had been put into English, and in the succeeding period had been printed for the English public, were at Henry's accession the favorite studies of the great and fashionable. The clergy allowed their perusal in order to prevent the adoption of a theological taste, and of reforming opinions[2]; and the policy of encouraging this direction of the mind was strongly urged by some reasoning men on the government, to prevent the knightly spirit and martial habits of the nation from declining[3]. Henry's mind had already received a superior furniture, but he sought to be popular; and like all young imaginations, his own sympathizing fully with the favorite tales of his day, he loved to realize them in visible representation, and applied himself to attain all the warlike accomplishments of that chivalry which was described so excitingly, and to imitate that fabled splendor with which the pages of its narratives so

[2] W. Tyndall, in his Obedience of a Christian Man, in 1528, thus expresses this fact: 'This forbidding the lay people to read the scriptures is not for love of your souls is evident, inasmuch as they permit you to read Robinhood and Bevys of Hampton, Hercules, Hector and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness and ribaldry, to corrupt the minds of youths.'

[3] See the quotations before given from Caxton, in the History of the Middle Ages of England, v. 3. p. 392. 8vo. ed.

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often fascinated the fancy. He began with appointing fifty gentlemen with spears, under each of whom were an archer, a demi-lance, and an attendant to wait upon his person; and he had both them and their horses apparrelled in cloth of silver and gold, and their servants richly dressed. But the costume was happily found too costly to be supported, and the impolitic scheme of injurious pomp was soon abandoned [4].

His hunting was in the style still continued in France and Germany—a merciless slaughter of many, rather than a less sanguinary diversion, from the pursuit of one. Sir Philip Draycott, however, shows us how much such animal massacres pleased the age, by characterizing it "as the most princely sport that hath been seen [5]."

But the great enjoyment of Henry was from his personal prowess in the just and tournament. His first exhibition of it after his coronation, was made the next winter in Richmond Park. He had never ran a course publicly before; but, as some gentlemen were justing, two armed strangers, unknown to any one, joined the lists; and of these one broke so many spears against his opponents, as to attract great praise. His companion, who at first had been

[4] Hall's Chron. p. 512. The Earl of Essex was their lieutenant, and Sir John Pechie their captain, while they lasted.

[5] He thus describes it in a letter to lord Shrewsbury:—'The king's progress was first to Oatlands, and there, in the meads under Chertsey, was killing of stags holden in for the purpose, one after another, all the afternoon. They were warned by the trumpets if there did enter any deer of price. These were not only coursed with some greyhounds, but also with horsemen with darts and spears; and many so slain. Many did escape over Thames, and to the forest. From Oatlands the king removes to Cobham, then to Guildford, and so to Windsor. He will be at each of these places four days.' 1 Lodge's Illustr. p. 6.

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successful, at last received a wound from lord Abergavenny's brother that was likely to be fatal. At this period, one person, looking at the admired knight, suddenly cried out, "God save the king!" Every one was astonished; and Henry, discovering himself, gave great pleasure to the people from his triumph and his condescension[6].

The temper of his mind will be best displayed by noticing his amusements. He tried his skill at the ring in the presence of the Spanish ambassadors. He went richly armed, with a plume of feathers waving from his head down to the saddle, and with trumpets sounding before him. Of twelve courses, he bore away the ring five times, and thrice touched it. Surpassing his competitors, he won the prize[7].

On May day, with all his knights and gentlemen in white satin, and with his guard and yeomen in sarsnet, he went to fetch the green bows of the spring. Placing them in their caps, they took their bows and arrows, and went to the woods. He shot as strong and to as great a length as any of his guard[8].

At Whitsuntide, with two companions, he challenged all comers to combat at the barriers, with targets, and casting off spears of eight feet long, and then to fight twelve strokes with two-handed swords. He was assailed by several valiant and strong persons, but displayed so much hardy prowess and great strength, that he obtained the chief applause[9].

Removing to Windsor, he began a progress thro

[6] Hall, p. 513.
[7] Hall, p. 514.
[8] Ib. p. 515.
[9] Ib. p. 515.

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the country. In this he exercised himself daily in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, and casting of the bar; he also indulged himself more intellectually in playing on recorders, on the flute and on virginals; in composing songs, making ballets, and in setting two masses. To these he added hunting, hawking and shooting, besides occasional justs and turneys[10].

His love of robust exercises appeared again in October, where he fought a stout and tall German with battle-axes[11], and in the next month he challenged all comers with spears at tilt one day, and with swords at turney the next. He broke more spears than any, and in both the contests carried the prize[12].

To celebrate the queen's recovery from her laying-in, he had a splendid pageant. When she and her court were seated, a forest with rocks, hills and dales, covered with grass and flowers, cut out of green velvet and satin, was drawn into the palace with gilt chains by an huge lion in damask gold, and an antelope in silver, led by wild men in green silk. In the middle of the wood was a golden castle, and six foresters in verdant coats were among the trees. These, when it rested before the queen, blew their horns, and the sylvan pageant suddenly opening from the interior, four knights issued armed at all points, with spears and ample plumes, amid a loud flourish of trumpets and drums, to contest for a garland of roses by feats of antique chivalry.

[10] Hall, 515. His love of music became known on the continent, and Alphonso de Este sent him the present of a lute, with a complimentary letter, that may be seen in the British Museum. MS. Vitell. B. 3. p. 104.

[11] Hall, p. 515.

[12] Ib. p. 516.

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The king was one of the four, and the justing lasted all the day, to be renewed on the morrow. Then, as the trumpet sounded, Henry was seen entering his pavilion of cloth of gold and purple velvet, and a splendid train accompanied him[13]. Against these sir Charles Brandon appeared on horseback in a long russet robe, like a recluse, presenting a petition to the queen, that he might run his course in her presence. The request granted, his religious habit was removed, and he was seen to be a knight in rich armor, ready for the combat. Sir Thomas Boleyn and the marquis Dorset entered in Pilgrim dresses of black velvet, with palmer's hats and staves, decorated with scallop shells, as if just arrived from St. James of Campostella. Many others followed in similar disguises, which were soon thrown off, and all were found armed beneath. The contests then began, in which the king had the triumph. A supper and musical interludes succeeded till the minstrels proceeded to play and the lords and ladies to dance. A very costly pageant of a garden of pleasure, with an arbor of gold, was then introduced, full of artificial shrubs and flowers, with a profusion of all that was rich and splendid[14]. The king was dressed in purple satin, and with his five select knights, was covered with the letters H. and K. in fine bullion gold, as thick as they could be placed, and with their assumed names also in letters of massy gold[15]. At the close of the festivity the king

[13] Hall, p. 516–7.

[14] Hall, p. 518–9.

[15] The king's device was Cœur loyal; the others, Bonne volure—Bon espoir—Valyant desire—Bonne foy, and Amour loyal. Their hoses, caps and coats, were full of poses, and of H. and K.'s in fine gold. Fringes and spangles of gold were also profusely added, to make the intended largesses to the company, who choose to pluck them off, more bountiful.

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permitted the ladies and the ambassadors to take off all the golden ornaments from what they saw, as a handsome liberality; but the gazing populace, seeing what they thought a scramble, burst in to partake of it. In vain the ceremonial officers resisted. Numbers overcame authority. They stripped not only the company, but the king himself, to his hose and doublet. Sir Thomas Knivet got upon a stage and fought strenuously in defence of his finery; but it was in vain: all his apparel was torn from him. Nothing but a great effusion of blood could check the unexpected finale. When the mob had possessed themselves of all that had tempted, the guards came and cleared the place. The king joined the ladies afterwards at a banquet, and turned all that had happened to fun and laughter, and seemed pleased that the people, tho uninvited, had got a share of his liberalities[16]. We have detailed this festivity, not in admiration of such puerile tho stately mummery, but to illustrate the character of the general mind and fashionable habits of the day. It was not Henry's taste only: every nobleman and gentleman; the ladies and the clergy; the merchant, the scholar and the mob, were delighted with such fantasies. The grave and dull chronicler who saw what he narrates, becomes animated as he details; and we see his heart beating in every picturesque circumstance that he recollects and introduces. It was a day of improving childhood, and the actions of the leading characters show the virtues and the faults of children beginning to be men; but it was

[16] One of the mob, a mariner of London, caught certain letters in the fray, which he sold to a goldsmith for 3*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*; 'by reason whereof,' adds Hall, 'it appeared that the garments were of great value.' p. 519.

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a childhood preparing and exercising itself for a noble maturity. CHAP. III.

The king began to take pleasure in tennis and dice. Some crafty persons at court seeing this tendency, brought in some Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him. The king, after losing much money, had the discernment to perceive their art, and the good sense and self command to avoid such society[17]. Being lusty, young and vigorous, he pursued his taste for feats of chivalry, daring every chance. The young applauded his courage, but the "ancient fathers much doubted." No steel they said was so strong but it might be broken; and no horse so sure of foot but he might fall[18]; and one moment might leave the nation without a Tudor king. But he continued to defy the stoutest to the combat, and always stood the brunt unshaken till he won the final triumph.

The personal powers of the king for these dangerous exertions seem to have resembled those of the ancient knights of romance, and were thus delineated by the Venetian ambassador: "Who is it that excels you in strength or in agility of body, or in all the skill of conflict? If you fight on foot, no man attacks more spiritedly nor presses on more closely. No one springs up more opportunely, nor wards off more cautiously, nor strikes more rapidly. And on horseback, you fiercely rush: you most aptly wheel round. With what ease you check your speed; with what impetuosity you charge again; with what dexterity you turn off! Who is there

[17] Hall, p. 520. [18] Ib.

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that does not admire the motions of your body and reverence its majesty [19]?"

Henry was indeed a perfect Amadis; as fond of the personal conflict and as invincible against every competitor. And yet, altho he resembled the lion-hearted Richard in this martial superiority, he combined with it all the polished urbanity and chivalric courtesy of Edward the third. It is to shew this rare union of opposing qualities that we advert again to the too lavish festivities of the day; and especially to mark with what true feeling and propriety his gentlemanly attentions were habitually directed to his wife.

On the Shrove Tuesday after his coronation, he prepared a goodly banquet in the parliament chamber for all the ambassadors to his crown. He led in the queen at the head of all the ladies of the court. He placed her in the seat of dignity, and then marshalling himself the company, he walked up and down conversing with her and the foreign guests. To amuse her and them, after supper he left the table to return with five gentlemen in rich fantastic dresses of blue velvet and crimson, lined with cloth of gold, with rich feathers, and in masks. Six ladies followed in crimson and purple satin, embroidered with gold, "with marvellous rich and strange tiers on their heads." The princess Mary,

[19] MSS. Nero, B. 7. p. 15. His statute in the Royal Exchange, in its great breadth of chest and muscular compactness and solidity of form, suit what history records of his knightly prowess. It is probable that the superiority of the fighting knight chiefly depended on the size and power of his pectoral muscles. These are not only essentially concerned in the motions of the upper arm, but also in that ability of enduring the shock of a vigorous concussion, on which the victory in a course of spears so much depends.

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the king's sister, was one of these. Their faces, necks, arms and hands were covered with fine black to look like Moors. The king danced amid the noble negresses till the pastime was closed [20].

Many scenes of this sort are described, in which the queen was made the principal person [21], and in which the king appears as complete a trifler, only fond of fine dresses and silly pantomime, as a Richard II. could have been [22]. It was a combina-

[20] Hall, 513, 514.

[21] She on her part was wisely as attentive to her husband. Thus, one day, Henry had diverted himself by meeting a ship on the river, whose captain answered the herald who summoned him, that her name was Fame, and her lading, good renown. The king immediately exclaimed, 'Since renown is their merchandize, let us buy it if we can.' A peal of her guns defied him, and his trumpets sounded to arms. The two parties tried their valor in a field for three days, none breaking so many spears as the king. The queen embraced the opportunity of giving a banquet to Henry on the occasion, and after the feasting, placed on his head the chief prize, and presented other decorations to his noble friends, while the herald cried out, 'My lords! for your noble feats in arms, Heaven send you love of your ladies that you most desire.' Hall, p 520.

[22] Thus on New Year's day a mock castle was made in his hall at Greenwich, with its gates, towers and dungeons garnished with artillery and weapons after the most warlike fashion. In this fortress were six ladies, in russet satin and leaves of gold, with golden caps. It was carried round the hall to the queen, and then the king came out with five knights in rich dresses to attack it. The lady defenders soon yielded to the assault, and came down and danced with their assailants, whom they led into the castle, which then suddenly vanished from the sight. Hall, p. 526.—What can we call this but a Christmas pantomime for full grown children, verifying the satire of Dryden and lord Chesterfield on both sexes?

Another of the same sort occurred in the following June. Ladies in white and red silk on their palfreys, with gold-fretted trappings, were followed by a fountain curiously made of russet satin, with eight animals spouting water. Within it sat an armed knight, which was the king. A lady in black silk with drops of silver then appeared, whom a knight in a horse litter all in black, studded with silver, attended. A great noise of trumpets announced the entrance of a coal-black fortress, inscribed, 'the dolorous castle.' Its defenders were attacked by the knight of the fountain and the knight of the litter, till they were tired of their own folly. Hall, p. 525. The names of the first nobility of the country are attached to all these scenes. A May-day spent on Shooter's-hill, with Robin Hood and outlaws coming

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tion of the last drama of the knightly warrior with the infancy of the new emerging character of the modern princely gentleman. Henry was therefore neither the one nor the other, but a medley amalgamation of both. He had all the shew and bravery of personal battle without any real talent for victorious war; and he had all the love of festive courtesy and kingly urbanity, without that real polish, feeling and delicacy of mind which give to amenity of manners its true intellectual value. Hence, in the first part of his reign, he was a real king Arthur, heading a knightly and a gallant court, but might have been nothing else if he had not also loved letters and patronized the learned.

That he sometimes felt that he was too frequent or too promiscuous in these martial exercises, appears from a promise he made after a great justing at Greenwich, that he would never repeat it, "except it be with as good a man as himself[21]." But resolutions against favorite inclinations, however judicious, are rarely long kept in the first periods of human life. The king, if he refrained at all as he

out of the wood, was a more natural and healthful fancy. 'Then Robin desired the king and queen to come into the green wood, and to see how the outlaws live. The king demanded of the queen and her ladies if they durst adventure. She said, that if it pleased him she was content. Then the horns blew till they came to the wood under Shooter's-hill, and there was an arbor made of boughs, with chambers well covered with flowers and sweet herbs, which the king much praised. Then said Robin Hood, 'Sir! outlaws breakfast is venison, and you must be content with such fare as we use.' Their majesties sat down, and were served with venison and wine by Robin Hood and his men, to their great contentation.' Ib. p. 582. How popular this was we may learn from the words of the chronicler: 'At this Maying was a great number of people to behold, to their great solace and comfort.' Ib.

[21] The letter which mentions this is dated 24th May 1516. 1 Lodge's Illustr. p. 17. But in 1518, 1520 and 1526, we find him tilting still. Hall, p. 598, 613, 719, &c.

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meant, could not wholly abstain, and yet he jeoparded his life every time he contended. When one armed man with his couched spear, ran with all the impulse of a powerful horse against another, one of four things, if they struck, must take place; and not to strike was a bungling disgrace. Either the spear forced its way thro the armor into the body of the antagonist, or, if that was too strong to be penetrated, the wood of the weapon shivered into pieces from the obstructed collision; or, if that was too solid, the party struck was pushed violently out of his saddle to the ground; or, if he could keep his seat by his muscular power, his horse was staggered and often fell with him from the vehemence of the shock. Between opponents of equal vigor, the second was the most usual result, and Henry was remarkable for the number of spears that broke either in his hand or upon his body. But a fatal issue was possible in every rencounter, and often happened to less hardy justers[24].

[24] Mr. Charles Mills has made these just remarks, in his History of Chivalry:

'The keen and well-practised eyes of the herald noticed the circumstances of the contest. To break a spear between the saddle and the helmet was accounted one point or degree of honor; the higher on the body the lance was attainted or broken, the greater was the consideration; and the difficulty of breaking it on the helmet was regarded as so considerable, that the knight who performed this feat was thought to be worthy of ten points; either to strike one of the opposite party out of his saddle, or to disable him so that he could not join the next course, was an achievement that merited three points. Hence it was thought less dishonorable for a tourneying cavalier to fall with his horse, than to fall alone. He who carried his lance comelily and firmly, was more worthy of praise, although he broke not, than he who misgoverned his horse and broke. He who ran high and sat steadily, accompanying his horse evenly and gently, was worthy of all commendation. To take away the rest of his adversary's lance, merited more honor than to carry away any other part of his harness. To break his lance against the bow or pommel of the saddle, was accounted greater

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The king once experienced the peril of these sports. Having a new armor of his own device, such as no armorer had before seen, he wished to essay it. His antagonist was the duke of Suffolk. They took their stations at the opposite ends of the tilt. His spear was delivered to the king; but in his eagerness, he forgot to pull down and fasten the visor of his helmet: the signal was given, and he charged with his usual energy, unknowing that his face was bare. The duke, who had closed the frontal of his helmet, could not see at any distance, and as he knew Henry never made it child's play, and always wished a real and manly encounter, he prepared as usual to give a vigorous onset. It happened that he had determined to strike the king's head, and couched his lance so as to clash upon his face. As the steeds ran, the people saw the king's uncovered cheeks, and cried vociferously, "hold!" but neither of the tilters heard or heeded in his impetuous career; and the duke's spear, exactly aimed as they came near, when no human force could check the collision, struck the king on the eye-brow, right under the defence of his head-piece. Nothing could have saved him, but that a part of the skull-cap, to which the visor is fastened, and which being always covered by that, was never made with any care, received the blow. It happened to be strong enough to resist the spear's blunted point. As Henry never shrunk from his vigorous seat, he stood the full collision, and the weapon shivered to pieces on his face.

shame than to bear a lance without breaking. It was equally dishonorable to break a lance transverse or across the breast of an opponent, without striking him with the point; for as it could only occur from the horse swerving on one side, it showed unskilful riding.'

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Every one thought him killed; and several ran upon the duke to avenge the mischief. But the king soon recovered from the unusual shock on a part so little guarded; and to show both his safety and good humor, called his armorer to put his helmet again together, and had the hardihood to run six more courses, amid the wonder and applause of his admiring subjects [45].

Two years afterwards the king's venturous spirit put him in great danger of death in another of his favorite pastimes. He was fond of falconry [46]: in following his hawk at Hitchin, he came to a wide ditch, and planted his pole in the middle, to spring over it; but as he took his leap, the pole broke with his weight, and he fell into the water, where his face was detained by the adhesive clay at the bottom, into which it had sunk. If his footman had not jumped into the water in time to disengage and raise his head, he would have been soon drowned [47].

But he did not make his amusements his own diversion merely; he occasionally extended them to the entertainment of his people. Thus, at a Christmas feast he opened his palace at Greenwich "to all comers of honest behaviour," and gave them "such abundance of viands as hath been few times seen [48]."

[45] Hall, 574. Henry was then 32.

[46] Pace wrote in June to Wolsey, 'The king's pastime is now all in hawking.' Jort. App. 3. p. 53. In November 1523, the cardinal de Gonzaga apologizes to Henry for not sending him some falcons, on account of the severity of the cold weather. MS. Vitel. B. 5. p. 222. And there is a letter from Henry in the British Museum, with his name stamped, not signed, dated Hampton, 29th March 1539, to a captain, desiring him to furnish a cabin in his ship to a servant of the serjeant of his hawks that was going to *Iceland* to transport hawks into England. Lansd. Collect. No. 1236. p. 8.

[47] Hall, 697.

[48] Hall, 526.

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Nor did he let his partialities interfere with his sense or duty of impartial justice. A yeoman of his guard, whom he highly favored, wilfully slew a servant of Lord Willoughby in the palace at Westminster. "The king, abhorring the deed, and setting aside all affection," allowed the culprit to be hanged [19].

We may be inclined, and not unreasonably, to think that there was a great deal of solemn puerility in Henry's courtly pageantries; but we must not, therefore, too harshly dart our censures upon them. Nothing is a greater reproach to the reasoning intellect of any age, than a splenetic censoriousness on the manners and character of our ancestors. It is but common justice for us to recollect, that in those times we should have been as they were; as they in ours would have resembled ourselves. Both are but the same men, acting in different circumstances, wearing different dresses, and pursuing different objects; but neither inferior to the other in talent, industry, or intentional worth. The more we study biography, we shall perceive more evidence of this truth. Disregarding what satire might, without being cynical, lash in our own costumes, we are apt to look proudly back on those who have gone before us; and to regale our self-complacency with comparison of their deficiencies, and of our greater merit. We are superior; and we have in many things better taste and sounder judgment, and wiser habits, than they possessed, because we have had means of superiority by which they were not assisted. But a merit which has arisen

[19] Hall, 526.

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merely from our having followed, instead of preceded, in existence, gives us no right to deprecate those over whom our only real advantage has been the better fortune of a later chronology. We may, therefore, allow Henry and his subjects to have been amused with what would weary or dissatisfy us, without either sarcasms on their absurdity, or contemptuous wonder at their stately childishness and pompous inanities.

Henry sometimes connected his diversions with his taste for classical literature. Thus for the festivity he made at the re-delivery of Tournay, he caused his great chamber at Greenwich to be staged and great lights to be set on gilt pillars, covering the roof with blue satin, adorned with flowers and gold; and here he had "a goodly *comedy of Plautus* played." When this was ended, eight ladies entered in black velvet, bordered with gold, with masks, hoops, and ruffed sleeves. As they were walking, eight noble persons, in long gowns of taffeta, richly adorned, and in visors, joined them. They danced till they were satisfied, and then, unmasking, Henry and his sister, the queen of France, were discovered to be among them[30].

His kindnesses were not confined to the instruments of his kingly splendor. It is incidentally mentioned in 1522, when he kept his Easter at Richmond, that he caused his almoner to make inquiry for eight miles round, to see what poor people were in every parish. When they were ascertained, he caused them to be refreshed with

[30] Hall, 597.

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alms at their own houses. He sent his gift to their own firesides, from the benevolent feeling of saving them from the effects of their own eagerness; for when they came altogether on the Good Friday, to the palace to be relieved, they were so numerous, and so solicitous, that murder commonly followed, from their contesting impatience [11].

In May 1519, Henry made an exertion of resolution, which is too rare and too creditable, and too valuable, as an example to all sovereigns, to be passed unnoticed. It was observed by his cabinet, that the young noblemen and gentry who composed the state of his privy chamber, "not regarding his dignity, were so familiar and homely with him, and played such light touches with him, that they forgot themselves;" from his gentle nature the king suffered it, and neither rebuked nor repelled them. His ministers ventured to represent to him the impropriety. It was a delicate task, as it concerned his private friendship, and could not but imply a censure on himself, for allowing what others deemed improper. But he heard them with calmness, and answered them with good sense. He told them, that he had chosen them for his council, that they might maintain his honor, and preserve it from what would blemish it. He left it, therefore, for them to make what reforms they deemed expedient. They accepted the committed power, and used it faithfully, in discharging the obnoxious persons from the court, and substituting in their stead more serious and respected characters [12].

[11] Hall, 630.

[12] Hall, p. 598. From the dispatch of sir Thomas Boleyn at Paris,

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His hospitable reception of Christiern II. the deposed king of Denmark and his queen, exhibited some magnanimity as well as courtesy, not only as he exposed himself by it to the resentment of the triumphant party who had expelled him, but because he had been, during the king's reign, threatened with an invasion from the Baltic, in conjunction with the Scots, to enthrone the Pretender, Pole[33]. Henry forgot the meditated enmity when he saw Christiern in misfortune, and treated him with a distinguished liberality which delighted the unbefriended exile[34].

of 20 May 1519, we find that Francis I. was apprized of this change from his mission in England before sir Thomas knew of it, and he mentioned it to Boleyn with great approbation of Henry's conduct. MSS. Cal. D. 7. p. 118. The account of Francis, who called them the king's minions, corresponds with that of Hall.

[33] Christiern had been dethroned by his uncle, Frederic duke of Sleswic Holstein, for his cruelty. A statement of his proceedings on this incident is in MS. Nero, B. 3. p. 88; also a memorial addressed on behalf of Christiern to Henry VIII. p. 90; and heads and memoranda of what Henry and Wolsey were to do for him, 81–4; and Christiern's own letter to Wolsey, to obtain from Henry a recommendation to the emperor to aid him, p. 80. Christiern had reigned from 1513 to 1523.

[34] Hall, 657, 8.

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CHAP. IV.

VIEW OF THE STATE OF ITALY AND EUROPE, AT THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII.

BOOK I. Italy.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, the principal powers in Italy, were the Pope, Venice, the kingdom of Naples, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines[1]. Some of the other cities were under chieftains who had usurped their governance; as Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, under the family of the Este; Imola, under the Aledori; Faenza, under the Manfredi; a few more under other lords, and Mantua of the Gonzaqua. Lucca and Sienna only were actually free, living under their own laws. The Genoese, sometimes independent and sometimes subjected to others; now obeying France and now the Visconti, were at this time neither honored nor feared, and had sunk to the class of the inconsiderable powers. The greatest part of Tuscany was under the dominion of Florence; part of Lombardy obeyed the duke Philip; part the encroaching Venetians; and Joanna, the queen of Naples, held also Romagna, la Marca and the patrimonial states[2]. The barons

[1] Machiav. Prince, c. 11. p. 61. The edition of Machiavel's works, which I quote, is his 'Opere Complete,' in nine volumes, 12mo. very neatly printed at Milan, 1820, forming part of the 'Bibliotheca Scelta di Opere Italiani.' It does credit to the Italian press.

[2] Mach. Hist. Florence. L. 1. p. 76. Machiavel was born at Florence in 1469; was the secretary of the republic, and its envoy or ambassador several times to France, and to several other powers. His diplomatic correspondence is printed among his complete works. His latter days were those of adversity; but he sought relief by composing his famous 'Del Principe.' He died in 1527.

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at Rome were the chief rulers of that city, and were divided between the two factions of the Orsini and the Colonni. CHAP. IV.

The armies of almost all these powers were committed to the care of generals formed in other parts, and principally of the smaller princes, who were not feared, and who making war their study and profession, rather for a livelihood than for glory, were trusted without jealousy. For their own sakes they were usually faithful; and against the similar characters whom they had to oppose, they were sufficiently effective[3]. It was the interest of all that no foreign prince, neither French, German nor Spaniard should come into the Peninsula with an army; and that none of the subsisting states should usurp on the other[4].

The Italian principalities had never been so happy as about the year 1490. All was peace and tranquillity; the lands were highly and securely cultivated; the country populous and rich. No other lords governed than their own native rulers. Their princes lived magnificently; their cities were attractive and stately; men of genius and learning abounded, and were increasing; and the arts and sciences generally flourished[5]. While Grecian lite-

[3] Mach. Hist. Florence. L. 1. p. 77.
[4] Mach. Prince, c. 11. p. 61.
[5] Guicciardini Hist. L. 1. p. 3. Ed. Firenze, 1818. To this edition is prefixed the historian's life by Manni. He was born 1482; he became an advocate; was employed by Florence as its ambassador to Ferdinand, in 1512; was sent in 1515, to usher Leo. X. into Florence, by whom he was the next day appointed his consistorial advocate; in 1518, governor of Modena and Reggio; and, in 1521, of Parma. He was confidentially employed by Clement VII. and made the lieutenant of the papal army in June 1526, and his governor of Bologna 1531. These employments show the authority of his history.

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BOOK I.

rature was discouraged and abandoned in Germany, and even in England, because it was supposed to lead to the heresies[6], or to the new opinions that were emerging, by enabling men to study the original of the New Testament, and by disposing them to reason for themselves, it found a home, and was emulously cultivated in Italy, and for some time was there only to be learnt. This fact gave the Italian universities a distinction and an attraction, which drew to their halls the most inquisitive minds from the other parts of Europe, to return in time to diffuse their new attainments with fertilizing energy over their native lands[7].

To this general prosperity Lorenzo de Medici had essentially contributed[8]. His high character, his steady mind, his love of peace, and his universal influence, gave him a moral preponderance, which was admitted and desired; and he strove to keep all things tranquil, and every subsisting power equally balanced[9]. His death in 1492 was therefore a misfortune to all. No prince was then living who was

[6] We learn this from Erasmus. 'Some do not blush to babble privately and publicly, even in their sermons, that Greek literature is the fountain of every heresy. They inculcate to youth in their secret confessionals, Beware of Greek, lest you become an heretic; shun Hebrew, lest you become like a Jew.' Eras. Adag. Ep. 2. p. 933. In another work, he remarks: 'When I was a youth in our Germany, it was heresy to write Greek.' Adv. Curs. V. 9. p. 1440.

[7] Greek was first taught at Oxford by Vitellius, an Italian, Pol. Virg. L. 26. and by Erasmus at Cambridge. He had learnt it from our Linacer, who, with Grocyne, had been to Italy to study it. William Latymer went to Padua for the same purpose. Knight's Life of Colet, p. 16–22.

[8] As I remember the new impulse given in England to the study of Italian literature, by Mr. Roscoe's History of Lorenzo de Medici, I refer with pleasure to his interesting work for the life of this truly illustrious man.

[9] Guicciardini. L. 1. p. 7.

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as honest, as unambitious, and as influential as he had been. After his departure to the tomb, the private views, the caprices, and the passions of each individual power began to deviate from the central point of the general welfare, and to divide them from each other into eccentric paths of action, that soon brought them into angry collision with each other. Resentment, violence, and partial confederacies succeeded to the repose and comforts of the Lorenzo age; and those wars and factions, which had disgraced preceding centuries, soon re-appeared with renovated fury, and more extending virulence. CHAP. IV.

If their happiness only had been the object of these contending potentates, it was already in their possession; and its continuance was in their power. But there is a restlessness in the human mind, when it is not fixed on nobler pursuits; a vague hankering after something greater than what they have, and better than what they know; a supposition that additional aggrandizement from earthly goods will give them the felicity which they feel that they want, and satisfy the ever-unsatisfied cravings of a misemployed spirit, which impel those who combine power with opportunity, or who have the means of exercising a disturbing activity, to commence political agitations, and to alarm or endanger others by ambitious aggressions. Three of the Italian powers were chiefly actuated by these mischievous incitements—Venice, the Pope, and the reigning duke of Milan.

Venice at one period had pursued no projects of superior dominion. Flourishing from commerce, its citizens were intent only on what would enlarge it,

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and acquired several ports in Greece and Syria, to which the French added Crete. Their name became formidable at sea, and was so revered on land, that they were chosen as the only just arbitrators in the differences of their neighbors. But gradually the spirit of territorial aggrandizement crept upon them, and they conquered Padua and Vicenza; and afterwards Verona, Bergamo and Brescia, besides several towns in Romagna, and elsewhere. Their power now became so considerable, and its exertion so dreaded, that not only the princes of Italy, but kingdoms more remote, were afraid to provoke their irritabilities, or to confront their power [10].

The visible ambition of this state alarming the rest with a belief that it was aspiring to the empire of all Italy, occasioned Naples, Florence, and the duke of Milan, to unite, in 1480, in a league for twenty-five years, for the purpose of preventing Venice from all further aggrandizement [11]. No war arose from this combination. But pope Innocent VIII. dying a few months after, Lorenzo de Medici let into the papal chair a man the most unfit to be there, Alexander VI, a Borgia by family, when that family, by his conduct and his sons, had not yet made itself synonimous with moral infamy. He corruptly purchased his election, and then speedily evinced to his neighbors the natural effects of such a worldly spirit, acquiring the powers of the pontifical see. He was clever, covetous and cruel, with little faith and less religion, but of undisguised rapacity, and determined ambition [12]. The peace of Italy became now but the

[10] Mach. Hist. Flor. L. 1. p. 61.
[11] Guicciardini. L. 1. p. 6.
[12] Guicciard. L. 1. p. 8–15.

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fast passing dream of a serene night, to which fierce tempests, excited by human depravity, rushing unnecessarily to the production of moral evil, and of human suffering, were hastening to succeed. In 1493, a new league, breaking up the former one, was avowed between the Pope, Venice, and the duke of Milan; and in a short time the latter called Charles VIII. out of France into Italy, for the purpose of dispossessing Ferdinand, the reigning king of Naples, of his inherited dominions. Diseased in body, and weak in judgment, Charles was not eager for the expedition; but a cardinal urged it. The scene was new, rapacity anticipated ample spoils, and his nobility applauded the meditated excursion. He surrendered Perpignan and Roussillon to Spain, to keep that country from molesting him, and prepared to pass the Alps[13].

Naples had for some time attracted the hostile attention of the popes. The queen Joanna had been their enemy; her predecessor, Ladislaus, had been called in by the Roman people against their priestly lords. One of these excommunicated him; but he drove the next out of Rome to Bologna, who, in revenge and for succor, solicited the king of Hungary to defend the endangered church[14]. To humble or to command Naples, or to have the sceptre in a friendly hand, became therefore the policy of the pontificate. Rome lay so near to it, and was alone so defenceless against its armies, that the popedom could not have any independence, and still less any dominion over others, unless it could be released from

[13] Guicciardini. L. 1. p. 20–60.

[14] Mach. Flor. L. 1. p. 70–2.

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the dread of the Neapolitan power. Alexander VI. began to act on these feelings; and Ferdinand, the second successor of Joanna, announced, with tears, to his queen, the election of such an individual to the tiara, declaring that there was a pope created who would be most hurtful to Italy, and to all christendom[15]. But Ferdinand dying suddenly of apoplexy the year after the new league was made that had been meant to operate against him, his son Alphonso, to save himself from the effect of the French invasion, sent four ambassadors to conciliate the pope. The terms were at last adjusted between them[16], and then Alexander forbad the French king to come into Italy[17].

But two other disturbing forces had begun their agitations. The Venetians were keeping themselves in continual preparation and readiness to take the opportunity of all occurrences that might open to them the way to the empire of all Italy, to which they showed they were aspiring, and their object was for that purpose to obtain the duchy of Milan, as well as that at Ferrara[18].

Milan had been usurped by Ludovico Sforza, an able, unprincipled, suspicious and unquiet man. He roused the pope to mistrust and oppose both Venice and Naples; he knew that all these powers

[15] Guicciard. L. 1. p. 9. The papal power over the kings of the Two Sicilies arose from the Norman chieftains, who took Apulia and Calabria from the eastern empire, acknowleging from policy to the popes that they held them in feudal tenure of the papal see. Hence the pontiffs assumed the right to grant the investiture of these kingdoms, and to be their feudal lords. This claim was often resisted, but never abandoned. It was frequently asserted, and sometimes submitted to. Guicc. L. 4.

[16] Guicciard. L. 1. p. 55–60.

[17] Ib. p. 76.

[18] Guicciard. L. 1, p. 6.

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had different views from his; he dreaded them all, and thought he should preserve his safety, and gratify his ambition most, by introducing a new power into Italy—not near himself to endanger him, but into its remote extremity Naples, where it would be the natural enemy of all whom he feared, or desired to depress; and therefore he reminded Charles VIII. that he had legal claims to the Neapolitan throne from his ancestors of the house of Anjou, and urged him to make it his own by an immediate expedition[19].

The nobility of France at first criticised the enterprize, from its novelty and distance, and from the traditional recollections of former disasters; but the promises and presents of Ludovico persuaded those who most governed the court, to favor it[20]. A French army of competent force was assembled, and Charles VIII. passed the Alps—a step not less revolutionary in its long train of consequences to Italy, England, Rome and Europe, than the crossing of the insignificant Rubicon, where his army ought to have stayed, by Julius Cæsar, then resolving to change and seize the government of the Roman world.

It was in the year 1494, at the age of twenty-two, that Charles began his march. Villeneuve, who accompanied him, describes him as passing thro

[19] Guicc. L. 1. p. 22. Guicciardini has given what he calls the speech of the Milanese ambassador to Charles, which contains the reasons that were thought most efficacious to induce him to undertake the enterprise, 28–33.

[20] Guicc. 33–5. The author states strongly the reluctance of the French to the Italian enterprize. "But the Memoirs of Tremouille, a contemporary authority, affirms, that the princes of the blood, and the greatest part of the nobility, were for it. p. 145.

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Milan to Florence, and thence to Rome, welcomed and applauded in every city[21]. At Florence, indeed, a republican deputy darted a sentence in the style of ancient Sparta. The king, wishing to impose some terms which the Florentine magistracy refused, and reminding them of his army, Capponi seized the obnoxious articles, and tore them in his presence, exclaiming, with an allusion to his power of rousing the people to an insurrection, "Beat then to arms with your drums, and we will sound our bells[22]." This determined reference to the sword accelerated the pacification.

Into Rome he was admitted on the last day of the year 1494, by Alexander, with a surly jealousy, who withdrew into the castle of St. Angelo as he entered. Four cardinals and others vehemently exhorted the French king to depose a pope so full of vices, and so generally disliked. Twice his artillery was planted against the castle; but Charles had no independent energy of character; and Alexander consenting to invest him with the kingdom of Naples, the king, compromising every better principle for this insincerely offered boon, knelt and kissed his foot, and then his cheek, and received his son, the execrated Cæsar Borgia, at that time cardinal Valentia, as the apostolic legate[23]. The young Ferdinand, who was wearing the Neapolitan crown, was unable to resist

[21] Mem. Villeneuve, p. 2. Mem. Trem. 147. The Italian's view and detail of his march may be seen in the first book of Guicciardini. The army of Charles consisted of 31,600 men. Mem. Trem. 146.

[22] Guicciard. L. 1. p. 117. This bold patriot, as he was afterwards planting the artillery against the Pisans, in a petty skirmish, perished from a cannon ball striking his head. L. 3.

[23] Guicciard. L. 1. p. 125–7.

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the force which now approached. He made an affecting address to his people before he retired to his shipping; but they heard him with such little sensibility, that they began to plunder his pavilions before he left the city. He withdrew to the isle of Ischia, exclaiming often as he sailed, in the words of the king of Israel, "Unless Jehovah keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain[24]."

Extravagant congratulations accompanied the entrance of Charles into Naples the 21st February 1495, and he repaid their welcome by conferring important benefits; but they who had deserted Ferdinand soon became weary of him, and not altogether undeservedly. Averse to trouble, he would not listen to their complaints. He consigned all business to his ministers and favorites. All the places of power and emolument were given principally to Frenchmen, who made it their chief care to collect as much booty as they could[25]. But more alarming than any popular discontent, were the tidings that the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians, were combining against him. It was rumored that their united army would amount to sixty thousand men: and that they in-

[24] Guicc. L. 1. p. 138. Paradin thus describes Italy at this period: —'Des villes contre les autres; familles contre familles; maison contre autre; frère contre frère; père contre fils. L'Italie est si miserable et tellement divisée et dechirée de ses factions, that no foreign prince can come without finding in every town, and in every house, favorers and supporters, and who would espouse his cause to death against their nearest kinsmen. Hence proceed so many murders and poisonings, that there is no country in which so much human blood is unnecessarily shed as in Italy.'

[25] Guicc. L. 2. p. 176, 7. One specimen of Italian fury is given by La Vigne at this time, 'After the king had dined, an Italian's head was cut off, who had killed a French page, and *eaten his heart*.' Hist. Ch. VIII. p. 144.

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tended to intercept his return to France, or to invade it in his absence.

Battle of Fornova, 6th July 1495.

His force was now reduced to twelve hundred men at arms, and about ten thousand foot. There was no alternative, and he evacuated Naples immediately. The Venetians, their Albanian stradios, the duke of Milan's forces, and the contingents of other Italian princes, assembled on the Appenines against him in numbers greatly superior, and the Spanish minister urged them to an immediate attack. Charles, after an anxious march, had to fight the battle of life and liberty the 6th July 1495, on his retreat, at Fornova, on the Taro, near the Appenines, against the confederated forces. It was a dangerous and a doubtful conflict, but he resolved to endure it. He had, in truth, no choice between victory, death or surrender. He wisely decided on the battle. "His heart," says his companion, "was larger than his body. His sword was ever in his hand, but his mouth was full of kindness. He was a lion while the struggle lasted, but he was mild and benign as an angel after his victory[26]." He was so much the lion, that by flying about too frequently and too promiscuously among the troops, as danger seemed to press, he would have been killed or taken if he had not been rescued[27]. He obtained at last a suffi-

[26] Villeneuve, 6–8. This author was taken prisoner after Charles had quitted Naples, and wrote his Memoirs during his year's confinement, 'pour eviter oisiveté.' p. 1. Tremouille having, by great manual labor, got the artillery over the mountains, where no canon had passed before, the king when he came, black as a Moor, to announce the success, told him he had outdone Hannibal. Mem. 151.

[27] Guicciardini describes the battle, L. 2. p. 203–213. He remarks, that it was the first that for a long time had been fought in Italy with slaughter and blood, p. 212. The cause of this was, that in former conflicts the chief aim had been to take prisoners for the sake of their

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cient victory to emancipate himself from his immediate peril, and he continued to retreat till he got safe into Turin[28]. The disappointed pope now commanded him to leave Italy in ten days, and to give up Naples soon after, on pain of excommunication[29]. But he stayed till he made peace with the confederated powers, and then obeyed the wishes of his remaining soldiers by abandoning all his projects of Italian domination, and retiring into France[30]. Ferdinand again recovered Naples, where he soon died[31]; and Charles meditating and preparing for another descent, only occasioned new changes and greater events to succeed. For, the scheming duke of Milan, who had first incited him to such an enterprize, perceiving that the length of way to Naples was occasioning France to confine its views to the nearer plains of Lombardy, exerted all his ingenuity and means to persuade the emperor of Germany to move his armies into Italy in aid of

ransom. Thus, mercy became fashionable then, because it was gainful, as it now is, because it is most honorable.

[28] The Italians claimed the victory, because they lost no baggage, and had taken a part of the French accompaniments. But Guicciardini allows, that the true palm belonged to the French, because they lost fewest men, in the proportion of 200 to 3,300; forced their antagonists over the river, and were able to continue their retreat, which was their object in the battle, p. 214. The contemporary authorities differ as to the number of the defeated forces. The Memoirs of Tremouille mention 70,000, La Vigne 40,000, and St. Gelais 22,000. Guicciardini gives no numerical amount.

[29] Guicc. L. 1. p. 235.

[30] For the opposing councils of Tremouille and the prince of Orange on this subject, see Guicciard. L. 2. p. 244–251. Louis, the duke of Orleans, replied to the latter with great acerbity, adding the last expression of gentlemanly insult; but 'la cupidita' of returning to France, and the king's high regard for the talents of the prince of Orange, prevailed against the spirited but angry councils of his heir presumptive, p. 252. It was in allusion to this violent quarrel with Tremouille, that when Louis came to the throne, he expressed the ennobling sentiment, that he had forgotten the injuries of the duke of Orleans.

[31] Guicc. L. 3. v. 2. p. 60–5.

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himself and the Venetians[32]. Maximilian was at that time the reigning emperor; and accepting at last of the invitation, passed the German Alps to Pisa[33].

Death of Charles 8. 14 April 1498.

Charles died prematurely in the midst of his unexecuted schemes[34]; but his kinsman and successor, Louis XII, the duke of Orleans, who had so strenuously resisted the former evacuation of Italy, soon resumed them, on the limited plan, at least at his outset, of annexing the Milanese only to France; and in his second year, Tremouille led the French forces against the man who had first broken the peace of Italy, by calling them into it[35]. Ludovico fled before him to Maximilian[36]; and Louis then visiting Milan, all the potentates of Italy, excepting the Frederic who, on Ferdinand's death, now claimed his kingdom of Naples, came to him either in person or by their ambassadors, to offer congratulations, and to avert hostilities. He received them graciously, and made his terms with them all[37].

Apparently seated so securely in the north of Italy, as ambition never becomes more moderate by success, the French politicians again turned their rapacious desires toward Naples, and with a new incentive to obtain it. Of the confederacy, whose sudden formation had compelled Charles VIII. so hastily to evacuate that pleasant city, Ferdinand of Spain was an important, and not likely to be an inactive or a disinterested member. On the expulsion of

[32] Guicc. L. 3. p. 51.
[33] Guicc. L. 3. p. 68-80.
[34] He has this character from a contemporary: 'France never had a king de meilleure nature; plus doux; plus gracieux; plus clement; plus pitoyable.' Mem. Bayard, 390.
[35] Mem. Trem. 159-162.
[36] Guicc. L. 4. p. 96.
[37] Guicc. L. 4. p. 99.

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Charles, he directed his own forces on Naples, under the command of Gonsalvo di Cordova, who has become so celebrated in history as to have passed also into romance. He had obtained so much reputation in the conquest of Granada from its Moorish population, that he came into Italy with the title of the Great Captain—an epithet at first bestowed, in Guicciardini's opinion, by Spanish pomposity, but well deserved by his future victories[18]. His successes transferred at last the dominion of Naples into the power of his sovereign, Ferdinand of Spain, the husband of Isabella; and this prospect of the Neapolitan crown being added to the Spanish kingdom, was a new stimulous to Louis XII. to desire it also for an appendage to his own. The pope, fearing both, could only see with pleasure the claims of one disputed by the other. But Ferdinand was too acute to be the servile dupe of his politics, and made one of those artful arrangements of spoliation with the French king, which we have seen repeated in our own days. Louis and he, in 1501, agreed to invade jointly, and to divide the object of their contest between them. The French were to have Naples and the Abruzzi: and Ferdinand, Apulia and Calabria. The pope had no option but to please them; and satisfied that such a partition would destroy the amity which produced it, he, out of a foreseeing policy, invested both with their several portions[19], caring little for the pretensions of the disinherited Frederic.

[18] 'Cognominato dalla jattanza Spagnuola il Gran Capitano.' Guicc. L. 2. p. 220.

[19] Guicciard. L. 5. 257–268.

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But this arrangement only filled Italy with new perplexity. While such mighty spoilers were united, no resistance could be thought of, and no one had expected such a combination. The wisdom of Louis in making Spain a corrival power in Italy, in preference to letting the unendangering Frederic have his paternal crown, was incomprehensible; and that Ferdinand, who had earned a few years before, of the pope, the title of Catholic, by subduing the Spanish Mahometans to be his subjects, should now conspire against a prince of his own blood, whom he has always promised to succor, was equally unlooked for. That the two partitioners would quarrel in the enjoyment of their plunder could not be doubted; and in that probable event, which of them was it likely would be the master, and with which therefore was it now safest to ally? The prevailing opinion was, that when they differed, the French would not be able to surmount the forces that would then be combined by Frederic and Ferdinand with the talents of Gonsalvo[40]. This belief of a rupture was soon realized. A discussion, whether a part called the Capitanato belonging to Apulia or Abruzzo, terminated all friendship in 1502[41]. War ensued. Peace was again negotiated and agreed on, confirming the former division, and orders were sent to Naples by both kings, to end all further hostilities. But Gonsalvo saw a victory within his grasp, and would not forego the triumph. He attacked and defeated the French forces; and on the 14th May 1503, entered Naples, and took Capua and Aversa[42].

[40] Guicc. L. 5. 268–70.
[41] Guicc. L. 5. 288
[42] Guicc. L. 5. 332–41.

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On receiving this intelligence, the indignant Louis XII. thought it a dishonor to remain a vanquished sovereign; and prepared to pass into Italy with an accumulated army, that should overwhelm the great, but disobedient and insulting captain[43].

While these events were evolving, Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia were increasing, by every means of crime and policy, by fraud, vigor and talent, the temporal power of the pontifical see. The schism occasioned by the rival popes, and the long residence of the most recognised pontiffs, for seventy years, at Avignon, in the fourteenth century, had greatly weakened their authority in Italy. The magistracy and barons of Rome had always acquired a strength and influence in that city, which curtailed the power of the reigning pope. Boniface, by fortifying and garrisoning, in 1400, the castle of St. Angelo, which the Roman citizens conceded to him, and by refusing to give back the privileges and forts which they[44] had yielded, laid the foundation of a greater temporal sovereignty, which diminished both the religious character and general utility of the pontiffs. Worldly dominion and a secular kingdom, with wars and revenues to acquire and maintain them, became afterwards their predominant desire and employment[45]; and the most sensual luxury the characteristic of their court and city.

But before the elevation of Alexander VI. the nobles and populace of Rome, who coerced the

[43] Guicc. L. 6. v. 3. p. 7. [44] Mach. Hist. Fl. L. 1. p. 69.
[45] See Guicc. History and Picture of the Papacy, L. 4. p. 211-224; as strong as it is just.

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domestic power of that papacy which was dominating abroad so assumingly, were arranged principally under two factions, the Ursini and the Colonni, who altho always in arms against each other, yet kept the authority of the pope, in his own territory, in a subordinate state. This internal weakness prevented him from becoming formidable in Italy[46].

At the time the French entered the Peninsula against Naples, Alexander was forming plans to emancipate the popedom from its thraldom at Rome, and to establish, for his son Cæsar, who had renounced the church and his cardinalship, to become a duke and a soldier, a powerful principality; and this son, heedless of moral restraint, left nothing undone that ability and opportunity could perpetrate to acquire it, and to second his father's wishes to subdue the Roman barons. To debilitate or destroy the Ursini and Colonni as their chiefs, was their first object; and the presence and temporary friendship of Charles VIII. in Italy, facilitating their intentions, Cæsar seized the favoring moment, sacked the houses of all the Colonni in Rome; killed those who resisted, levelled most of their castles in those parts, and nearly extirpated them[47]. The Ursini had blindly contributed to the downfal of their rivals, and too late united to protect themselves. The filial Borgia, with the aid of the French, overcame them, and making a negociation of peace to entrap them, got their noblest chiefs into his power at Senigaglia, and as mercilessly as perfidiously strangled them[48].

[46] Machiav. Prince. c. 11. p. 61.
[47] Machiav. Hist. Flor. L. 8. p. 321. Prin. c. 7. p. 38.
[48] Machiav. Prince. c. 7. p. 36–40. Machiavel wrote a separate

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He obtained by force, the duchy of Bologna; and both he and Alexander were by these atrocities advancing to an extensive predominance of territorial power in Italy, when the unprincipled pope died suddenly from poison, provided by this favored son for the destruction of a cardinal[49]. The universal joy of the Roman people, at the shocking catastrophe, was an expressive evidence of the nature of his pontifical conduct[50].

Cæsar Borgia, in addition to Bologna, had forcibly possessed himself of the territories of Romagna and Urbino; and wicked as he was himself, yet so enormous had been the conduct of their former chiefs, that his government was a benefit to the people[51]. He had prepared to found his own power on four measures,—to destroy the whole line of the nobility, whose lands he seized; to cajole the great men of

account of this atrocious murder, v. 2. p. 490. The splendor assumed by this bad man we observe in the Memoirs de Fleuranges: 'He came into France with the greatest pomp. He had his housseaux all covered with pearls, and his mules accoutred in the richest velvet.' p. 11.

[49] The account of this event, as reported at the time, was, that Cæsar had secretly poisoned some wine which he had committed to a servant's care as peculiarly excellent. The pope coming in before supper, hot and thirsty, called for some drink, and this wine was handed to him as the best. The son arriving at the same time, partook of it without knowing the mistake. The father died almost immediately, and the son had a long and painful illness, which destroyed the effect of all his ambitious schemes. Guicciard. L. 6. v. 3. p. 23–5.

[50] 'All Rome ran with incredible joy to the dead body of Alexander, hardly satiating their eyes to see destroyed a serpent, who with his immoderate ambition, by pestilent perfidy, and every example of horrible cruelty, of monstrous sensuality, and extraordinary rapacity, and selling, undistinguishingly, both sacred and profane things, had poisoned the world.' Guicc. ib. p. 24, 5.

[51] 'He found Romagna had been governed by poor and inferior lords, who had rather robbed than corrected their subjects, and had occasioned more discord than unity. Hence, this province was full of robberies, riots and excesses. By establishing a judicious, strong, and rigorous government, he soon settled it in peace.' Machiavel Prin. c. 7. p. 39.

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Rome to overawe the pope; to make the college of cardinals his friends, and to become so strong before his father died, as to stand afterwards by his own strength. He accomplished the three first objects, and was about to add Pisa, Lucca, and Sienna to what he had acquired; and prepared to become master of Tuscany, when the poison threw him on a bed of lingering sickness, and all warlike activity became impossible[52]. He committed an error in promoting the election of Julius II. It caused his final ruin[53].

After his death, a pope, who lived only twenty-six days, was succeeded[54] by Julius II. who was fitter to be the sultan of the Turks, than the religious head of Christendom[55]. He had long endured, impatiently, the greatness of the Venetians[56]. He saw that for the papal see to have the territorial dominion

[52] Machiav. on Livy. 'He told me,' says Machiavel, 'about the time that Julius was elected, that he had considered well the accidents that might befal him on his father's death, and had provided against all, *only*, he did not imagine that his own death was so near.' Ib.

[53] Mach. ib.

[54] Alexander VI. died the 18th August 1503, and on 22d September Pius III. was chosen; but dying 18th October, the person who makes such a turbulent figure in Guicciardini's history as the cardinal de St. Vincula was declared pope on 1st November 1503. Mach. Letter, Op. v. 6. p. 490. Only three or four cardinals who aspired themselves to the papacy were against him. p. 496. Machiavel ascribes it to his use of his 'nome del liberale.' Prin. c. 16. p. 83.

[55] Guicciardini remarked: 'Great was the universal surprise, that the papacy should have been given with so much agreement to a cardinal who was so known to be of a nature very difficult, formidable to every one, and at all times unquiet, and who having consumed his life in continual labours, had necessarily offended many, and exercised hatreds and enmities with many great men. But he was very powerful as a cardinal, surpassed all others in magnificence, and had a striking greatness of mind. What chiefly caused his promotion was, his immoderate and boundless promises to cardinals, princes, and barons. He had, besides, the power of distributing money, and many benefices and ecclesiastical dignities.' L. 6. v. 3. p. 37.

[56] Guico. L. 6. p. 39.

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of Italy, Venice must be debilitated, and he resolved to procure its downfal. CHAP. IV.

The kings of France and Spain having again conciliated their differences as to Naples, Julius projected, and never rested till he had effected, a confederation with the emperor and French king to attack the Venetians with their combined armies, and to strip them of all their territorial possessions, which they had successively conquered and attached to their aristocratical republic [57]. The treaty was made at Cambray, and no league has been at any time more successful. Their wisest senators recommended efforts to be made to separate the pope from the king of France; but the speech of a Venetian Cato, with more bravery than policy, decided their yet haughty aristocrats to defy the storm [58].

Altho Julius was an old man when he reached the papal chair, he had grown old as cardinal St. Peter ad Vincula, amid the bustling affairs of the busy and great world [59]. Christianity was his profession, but it extended little farther than his dress and ceremonial conduct. His soul was that of an ambitious

[57] This was first projected in 1504. Guicc. v. 3. p. 82. In 1507, the Venetian government was in great uncertainty and agitation about the real intentions of the confederates. p. 137. In the next year, the hostile league was completed. p. 212. and the Julius began to doubt its wisdom, in 1509 he permitted or promoted the explosion.

[58] Trevisan urged their dignity and power—the danger of submitting to a pope, most arrogant and ambitious; given to wine, and many dishonest pleasures, and who would exercise his power at the caprice of his cupidity, and not according to justice or to the common good of Christendom. Guicc. v. 3. p. 218.

[59] Guicciardini styles him the fatal instrument then, before, and afterwards, of all the miseries of Italy. L. 1. p. 82. After pope Alexander had forbidden Charles VIII. to enter Italy, and his own mind was almost relinquishing the idea of it, this cardinal was indefatigable in urging the king and his nobility to make that invasion, which so greatly produced all the changes that shook the next century. The historian puts his reasonings into a speech. Guicc. ib.

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and enterprising politician; and his conduct as pope, discovered the secret idol of his heart. His plans were as large as his execution of them was impetuous, and he effected more important changes in a little time, by his daring activity and resolution, than more powerful sovereigns have been able to accomplish.

His greatest passion was to enlarge the territorial power of the pope, into a great Italian sovereignty, and therefore to unite with the church all that had been taken from it during the long wars between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, and all that could be elsewhere procured. He began his career in 1506, by attacking, in person, at the head of his army, Bologna; and on its capture, expelling the Bentivoglios, who had usurped it[60]. He procured his nephew to be adopted by the Duca di Urbino; and to compose a large state for him, and for his son, it was necessary to wrest Ferrara from its duke; Ravenna, Faenza and Rimini from the Venetians, and other cities of Romagna from their respective lords. But this could not be achieved, while either Louis XII. or the Venetians had power to oppose him in Italy, and therefore he projected, first by the aid of the French, to ruin the Venetians, and then, by future combinations, to drive out the French[61].

His measures against Venice were at first suspended by alarm at the French, who, not contented with Milan, were attacking Genoa. He sent urgently, in concurrence with the Venetians, to solicit Maxi-

[60] This was such a favorable object, that he marched out of Rome at the head of 500 men at arms to assist in attacking it. Guicciard. L. 7. v. 3. p. 124.

[61] Machiavel remarks, that he succeeded in those great enterprises; and adds, that much to his honor, he appropriated nothing, but gave all to the church. Princ. c. 11. p. 62.

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milian to bring down the German empire to her aid [62]. The alarm of such an attack suspended the progress of Louis, and the diminution of danger from him lessened the wish of Julius for the imperial forces [63]. He liked neither, and only wished by the one to paralyse the other. As this effect took place, and Venice still refused the places he demanded, his eagerness to humble it returned [64]; and this wily state, by its dishonest, interested and versatile politics, now succeeded by a presumptuous confidence, accelerated the rising of the storm that was to abase it.

To obtain for themselves Cremona and a part of the Milanese, they had incited and countenanced the invasion of Louis to obtain that duchy. He came and subdued it, and the Venetians found that they had gained two towns, and for them had made the French king master of two-thirds of Italy [65]. On the death of Alexander VI. they made the pope their enemy, by attempting to seize Romagna, and by taking Faenza and Rimini [66]. They solicited the emperor to hasten into Italy to oppose Louis [67], and yet, when the French king called upon them to resist the descent of Maximilian, they resolved not to grant him a passage, if he came with an army [68].

[62] Guicciard. L. 7. p. 169.

[63] He refused to Maximilian the passage of his army into Italy. L. 7. p. 188.

[64] Guicc. L. 8. p. 216–20.

[65] Mach. Prince, c. 3. p. 19. He remarks in another place, that they associated with France against the duke of Milan, and that this association was the cause of their ruin. ib. c. 21. p, 120.

[66] Guicc. L. 6. p. 39–43. [67] Guicc. L. 7. p. 169.

[68] The debates of the Venetian state council on this subject, are exhibited in the antagonist speeches of Coscarena and Gritti, detailed by Guicc. L. 7. p. 174–185. 287.

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Both French and Germans were indignant; and both wishing to partition the acquired provinces of Venice, the allied ambassadors and those of Julius met at Cambray, and settled the plan of their confederated attack, and the division of the spoil, if it succeeded to their wishes [69].

To this spoliating league Ferdinand of Spain was invited to accede, and he made no difficulties, as he wished to keep Louis XII. occupied elsewhere, that Naples might become his own, and that he might also gain five maritime cities which a king of Naples had once given to the Venetians. Thus it was a confederation of robbers against robbers, for the sake of new robbery, to be jointly divided between them. The pope ratified it, but required the French to begin the warfare [70], and Julius issued his excommunicating, and what the historian not unappropriately calls, his horrible bull [71].

Louis XII. was the first in the field. He marched towards the Venetian frontier with one of the finest armies that France had yet raised, where the imperial and papal forces were to meet it. But before these joined, the great result had been determined [72].

[69] Guicc. L. 8. p. 213. The pope was to have Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and Cervia; the emperor, Padua, Vicenza and Verona, as formerly part of the empire, and Friuli and Trevisa, as appertaining to his duchy of Austria; and the French king Cremona, Guiara, Adda, Brescia, Bergamo and Crema; and Naples was to be yielded to Spain, if it co-operated. ib. 214. So Mem. Martin du Bellay, p. 12.

[70] Guicc. L. 8. p. 222.

[71] Ib. 233. A few days afterwards, some men unknown left in Rome an answer from the Venetian government, containing a very bitter remonstrance against the pope and France, and appealing to a future council, or if human justice failed, to a superior judge. 234. Against the conduct of their assailant they had sufficient recrimination; but their own actions had no equitable claims on a super-human tribunal.

[72] Guicc. 231. Martin du Bellay says, 'The French alone fought the

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CHAP. IV.

The French advancing precipitately to the war in April 1509, the Venetians assembled their forces; and their general, Alviano, choosing to put their fortunes on one deciding conflict, on the 14th May, earlier than he expected, the battle of Agnadell, or Gierra-adda, took place. It was fiercely contested for four hours, but the French obtained such a decisive victory[73], that the territorial preponderance of Venice in Italy was extinguished for ever. It was a sudden, astounding, unexpected and irreparable change[74]. Venice never regained its former renown, nor recovered from the military disaster. It sank gradually to a secondary state. Each of the combining powers seized and obtained the cities and provinces for which they had confederated; and Venice was reduced to her insular city, her commerce, her colonies and her navy[75]. It occurred within a month after Henry VIII. had acceded to

Venetians, and won the battle, not having heard any news of the league; the emperor and pope having failed of their promise.' p. 12. But as the emperor had bound himself to begin the war forty days after the French, they began it on 15th April, and the French obviously chose to risk the struggle before the time appointed for Maximilian's junction. Louise de Savoy dates this battle in her journal, Monday, 14th April 1509.

[73] Guicc. L. 8. p. 240. Fleuranges, a contemporary, mentions that 15,000 Venetians were killed in one heap. It was two pikes high. It was a hill of the suffocated. p. 44.

[74] 'It is impossible to describe the grief and universal consternation of Venice, at the news of such a calamity, nor how confused and astonished all their minds were, accustomed as they had been to obtain victory in every war, and foreseeing their loss of dominion, and the abasement of their country from its glory and greatness; they, who but a few months before, were projecting to have the empire of all Italy.' Guicc. 243.

[75] 'They were deprived in one day,' says Machiavel, 'of what they had been many years gaining with infinite expense; and tho they may in our times have recovered a part, they have not regained their reputation nor their power. They live now like the rest of Italy, at the mercy of other people.' Hist. Fl. L. 1. p. 62.

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his crown, and was considered so great a victory, that Louis made afterwards an exulting entry into Milan, in imitation of the Roman triumph [76].

Louis had now twice fulfilled the wishes of Rome without any solid advantage to himself. By delivering Romagna to Alexander VI. and his son, he weakened himself, disobliged his Italian friends, and gave the popedom a dangerous aggrandizement, by adding so much temporal to its great spiritual authority; and he felt this, when, to check the papal ambition and to preserve Tuscany from its grasp, he had been forced into Italy again. His passion to have some sovereignty in Naples, had led him to share it with Spain. The result was, that before that division he had been the sole umpire in Italy, and now had introduced a partner [77]. If he had not sided with the church and called in the Spaniards, he might have sufficiently coerced the Venetians, and have used them to have kept others from taking Lombardy from him [78].

Venice fell unregretted in Europe [79], and with a

[76] He had carried before him paintings of all the towns, castles, and battles that he had gained. Mem. Fleuranges, p. 54.

[77] Machiavel. Prince. c. 3. p. 20. He enumerates five great faults of Louis, that caused his future reverses. He ruined the inferior lords—augmented the dominions of a neighboring prince—called in a foreigner as powerful as himself—did not stay long enough in person—planted no colonies, and depressed the Venetians. ib.

[78] Mach. Prince. ib. He adds, 'I told cardinal Amboise, (one of the busy diplomatists of the day) when Cæsar Borgia took Romagna, that the French were no statesmen, or they would not have suffered the papal church to have attained such greatness. Experience has shewn that its greatness in Italy, and the power of Spain, have been caused by France; the ruin of whose ascendancy has come also from them.' Prince. p. 22.

[79] 'Many were highly pleased at its ruin, from the recollection of its vast ambition, its frequent disregard of justice and good faith, and of its avowed determination, whenever opportunity offered, to subject all

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pusillanimity which showed that there was no greatness of mind in her narrow spirited and inquisitorial government. She made no effort to retrieve her defeat, lest her capital should be attacked, and acquiesced in the deprivation of her territorial power[80]. This may have been wise, but it was not magnanimous; and alarmed pope Julius, who now dreading the direction of the powers of the combined sovereigns on himself, began immediate plans to disunite them[81].

Determined to drive the French out of Italy, he declared himself suddenly their opponent, absolved the Venetians, allied with the Swiss, persuaded this ambi-dexter people to make a descent upon Milan[82], and threatened Florence, whose assistance the French equally claimed, with the effects of his displeasure. Alarmed at their danger, and dreading his violence and the resentment of irritated France, this republic sent Machiavel, their state secretary, in haste to Louis XII. to represent the peril of their position, to save them from being bound to give him that aid which would make Julius their deadly foe, and yet to avert from his mind the idea that by the refusal they were countenancing the furious pope against him[83]. The despatches of Machiavel to his

Italy to its dominion. These things had made their name universally odious, even more than the reputation of their natural arrogance. Guicc. L. 8. p. 255.

[80] Guicc. L. 8. p. 248-50. They recovered by degrees, Padua, Verona, and a few towns; but not their former reputation and no predominating power in Italy. They never rose again from the secondary state into which they were thrown by this defeat.

[81] Ib. 255. [82] Guicciard. L. 9. v. 4. p. 41.

[83] The gonfalonier's instructions to him are dated 2d June 1510, and state the pope to be a man 'rotto e caldo,' passionate and hot in all his actions. Mach. Op. v. 8. p. 6.

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government, from July to September 1510, show the indignation which pervaded the French court[84] at the tergiversation and faithless conduct of the pugnacious and domineering pontiff[85]. Louis had determined on deposing him, if the emperor and Henry would have concurred[86], and on making great changes in the ecclesiastical state of Europe[87]. He forbad any of his subjects to have any farther intercourse with Rome on religious affairs, on the penalty of losing both life and property[88], summoning a council to meet at Orleans, to terminate the obedience of the French church to the pontifical see, and to expel Julius from it[89]. He labored to detach the Swiss cantons from his alliance, and to make his own army there efficient to repress and defeat both the pope and his new confederates. But

[84] On 22d July 1510, Machiavel says, 'the king threatens to pass the mountains with double the impetus of former years; and every one thinks that he can do much more than he threatens, if England and the emperor remain firm, of which nothing now appears to the contrary.' p. 27.

[85] On 18th August, Machiavel, after an interview with the king, wrote, 'he complained much of the deportment of the pope, whom, since the rout of the Venetians, he could never tame; and since the pontiff's mind was so turned away from peace, he should not himself fail in providing for the war.' To Machiavel's observations, Louis exclaimed, 'What would you that I should do? I will not let the pope beat me.' p. 60–2. And on 27th August, we read, 'this king sleeping or waking, thinks only of the wrongs he seems to have received from his holiness, and has only vengeance in his mind.' p. 73.

[86] 'When England and the emperor will concur, they mean to create a new pope, and to descend with such a force into Italy, that it will not be a war, but rather an easy journey to Rome. This is their design if peace do not follow.' Mar. Legat. v. 8. p. 60.

[87] See Mach. Dispatches, v. 8. p. 57, 70, 84, 85, 7, 8.

[88] This edict was issued 27th August 1510. Mach. p. 72, 80.

[89] Mach. ib. p. 63. He learnt that they were to discuss at this council, '1st, if the pope should excite war against a Christian prince, uncited and unheard; 2nd, or if cited; 3rd, if a pope who had bought the papacy and sold bishoprics, ought to be deemed a pope; 4th, if a pope against whom might be proved innumerable opprobiums ought to continue a pope.' ib. 92.

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this active and contriving man, who was as able a warrior and statesman as he was the entire contrast of a christian pontiff, by the intrigues of a man like himself, the cardinal bishop of Sion, kept the Swiss at enmity with the French, and persuaded the new cabinet of Henry, and bribed Ferdinand, king of Spain, to support him against Louis and the emperor. The hesitating and jealous temper of Maximilian gave greater efficacy to their interference; and instead of overwhelming the pope by military successes, the French government, in 1511, caused a general council to be summoned to meet at Pisa, to provide due reformations for the mischiefs and evils which were embarrassing the Catholic church [90].

Julius knew that its operations were meant to be directed on him, and declared to Florence, that he would arrest their merchants, and put their country under an interdict, for allowing their dependant city Pisa, to be the seat of such a council [91]. Again Machiavel was sent off in September 1511, in urgent haste to implore the French king not to have the council held, or to transfer it to another place; or for their sake, to procrastinate its operations for a few months, that they might have the chance of benefit from what happened in the interval [92]. Louis would neither annul nor remove the council [93], but

[90] The Diario of Bonaccorsi mentions some initial acts done by this council, on 1st September 1511. p. 193. See Guicc. L. 10. p. 158.

[91] Mach. Legat. v. 8. p. 110. Guicc. p. 158.

[92] See the instructions to him of the 'Spettabilli Dieci,' from their palace at Florence, dated 10th September 1511. Mach. Op. v. 8. p. 99–108.

[93] The envoy Acciajolus wrote to Florence, on 24th September 1511, that Louis told him he had set on foot the council, only to bring the

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procrastinated its meetings till the following November, when it began its operations [94].

The military movements against Julius were not so decisive as were expected. The French army besieged him in Bologna; but the ambassadors from Henry, Ferdinand and even Maximilian, interfered to save him and to mediate a peace. Chaumont, the commander of the assailing forces, listened with belief that it was practicable, sent in his terms, drew off his forces, and lost the moment of success. The pope, with the aid of the diplomatists, protracted the conferences till Chaumont, on the ground that his provisions were failing, winter approaching, and his forces not adequate to the popular spirit, which, tho befriending him before, was now arising against him, retired from the town that a determined vigor might have taken [95]. The pope effected a new league with the Spaniards and Venetians, and obtained a large body of Swiss [96]. He went in person to attack Mirandola [97]; inveighed against the council of Pisa [98], and in 1512, at the head of his army, attempted to regain Bologna, which had been wrested from him [99].

11 April 1512. Battle of Ravenna.

This led the concentering French to the murderous battle of Ravenna, for its relief. They obtained the

pope to some agreement, and that if it were annulled, Julius would never make peace. When urged to remove it to another place, the king said quick and resolutely, 'This is impossible;' but he agreed to adjourn it. Mach. Op. v. 8. p. 117.

[94] The Florentine commissioners at Pisa, Ridolfi and Portinari, in their report of 12th November 1511, detailed the proceedings of the two first sessions of the council. ib. p. 125–30.

[95] Guicc. L. 9. p. 66–71.

[96] Guicc. 210. 'Italy being now much oppressed by wars, and pillaged by gens d'armes, at Lent 1512, the armies of the pope, Swiss, and Spaniards joined against the French.' Mem. Tremouille, 181.

[97] Guicc. L. 9. p. 83.

[98] Ib. L. 10. p. 158.

[99] Guicc. L. 10. p. 196.

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difficult victory with the loss of Gaston de Foix, the duc de Nemours their commander, in the pursuit[100], charging too eagerly a retiring body of Spanish infantry. The cardinals crowded round the pope to urge him to a peace. He resolved rather to abandon Rome than his warfare[101]. He opened the council of Lateran[102], against that of Pisa, and sought earnestly to persuade Henry VIII. to make an aggression upon France. His unceasing exertions and combinations, gradually at last compelled the French to retire again out of Italy, after having held Lombardy for thirteen years[103]. He lived to know of their retreat, and died full of violent and ambitious projects, on 21 February 1513[104]. Leo X. his successor, continued the main outlines of his policy. Louis made another effort to regain Milan; but this produced that decisive defeat at Novarra[105], and that combination against him with Henry VIII. at its head, which for some weeks threatened his compacted monarchy with defalcation or dissolution.

Germany.

During these vicissitudes, Germany was generally tranquil. Its free towns, obeying the emperor only when they pleased; pursuing trade, and safe from

[100] Guicc. L. 10. p. 228–41. Mem. Bellay, p. 13. Of this conflict the feeling of a Frenchman living at the time, was,—'There have been many *fine* battles since the creation, but never has any one seen, for the numbers engaged, one so cruel, furious, or well contested by both parties, as this battle of Ravenna.' Mem. Bayard, 314.

[101] Guicc. 243–6. [102] Ib. 249. [103] De Thou, v. 1. p. 7.

[104] Guicc. L. 11. p. 323. It is interesting, but painfully so, to read his statement of the warlike and worldly schemes of an aged pope, even in the last hour of his accountable spirit departing to appear before a tribunal very different from that of Minos, Æacus, or Rhadamanthus. L. 10. p. 321–3. In August 1511, he had fallen into a swoon, so like death, that the cardinals were collecting to choose another pope. p. 150. But he recovered only to resume all his disturbing plans. p. 153.

[105] Guic. L. 11. p. 347–50.

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their surrounding princes, and from each other, by their well guarded fortifications [106], were but rarely involved in the agitations of external politics. The wavering mind of Maximilian, paralysed the force of his imperial power. Europe was but little disturbed from its Germanic hemisphere [107].

Spain.

Spain was now fast preparing to make her future grand display. Ferdinand had, by incorporating its divided sovereignties, formed a sort of new kingdom in that peninsula. From being an inconsiderable king of the petty Arragon, he is become, says Machiavel, in fame and renown, the first king in Christendom [108]. The foundation of his greatness was the invasion of the Moorish state of Grenada. He began it so leisurely and so unsuspectedly as to any personal aggrandizement, that the barons of Castile zealously assisted him in it, and before they were aware of any coming innovation, had, by serving in his court and armies, and by its conquest, raised him to be their master. By exterminating the Jews, he committed an error of deplorable inhumanity and impolicy; but his expeditions on Africa, into Italy, and against France, presented large objects to his nobility and

[106] 'Le citte d'Alemagna sono liberissime, ed ubbidiscono all'imperatore quando le vogliono. They are so fortified, that each looks upon it as a tedious and difficult thing to take any. They have proper ditches and walls, sufficient artillery, and provisions and stores for a twelvemonth.' De Princ. c. 10. p. 58.

[107] Padre Luca thus described him to Machiavel:—'He never consults any one, and yet never does any thing his own way; for he is a close man, and never communicates his designs, nor takes any advice upon them. But when he shews them by beginning to put them in execution, he is opposed by those about him, and from an easy nature, never perseveres in them. Thus, what he does one day, he undoes the next.' De Princ. c. 23. p. 124.

[108] Mach. de Princ. c. 21. p. 116.

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people, which kept their minds in employment, admiration and suspense[109]. One enterprise changing quickly into another, and none being undertaken beyond his natural powers, or prosecuted beyond the bounds of a sagacious policy, his subjects were excited to views that were always expanding, and to hopes ever flattering, without being either discontented or exhausted. Their turbulence found vent and occupation in his popular movements; they had no leisure to be unquiet, and no desire to be disaffected. He lived in continual honor and prosperity. The discoveries of Columbus gave his reign new credit, and his people a new field of the largest scope, for their effervescing animation. Grand prospects, and great sufferings, and vast exertions, roused them to a gigantic spirit of character, which, tho deserving too often the epithets of the pompous and extravagant, yet in so many things realized the hyperbole of their phrase and fancy, that they became deservedly, for a time, and amid many a caricature, the heroic wonders both of America and Europe. The measures of his cabinet were sometimes stained with that perfidy which Machiavel

[109] Mach. de Princ. c. 21. p. 117. A feature remarked at this time in the Spanish character was, its avarice of money. Bellay says, 'The Spaniard fears death more than other nations, and goes to war rather from avarice than any other motive.' 314. One of our ambassadors then observed their peculiar eagerness and success in searching out hidden money in their pillages. But they now have the merit of adding to their known hauteur an unusual exertion of domestic qualities. Don. J. de Mora thus paints his present countrymen: 'The Spaniard lives much at home. He has no inclination for spectacles, clubs, or meetings; and no taste for travelling. The husband does not despise the most humble occupations, provided he can render assistance to the partner of his life. He washes and dresses his children. He acts the part of cook. He goes to market, and takes upon himself the half of all that is most troublesome in domestic management.' European Review, No. 6, p. 272. There is something more sterling in this connubial gallantry, than in that public courtesy which is more usually practised and applauded.

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learnt from the governments of his day, and has depicted without sufficiently rebuking; probably from confining himself too much to the task of denoting and recording the moral and immoral phenomena which he witnessed,--their causes and effects,—without also criticising their moral classification or philanthropic eligibility. Perhaps what kings, nobles, statesmen, priests, bishops, cardinals and popes, were all universally practising, he did not himself distinctly discern to have those characters of social infamy, which to our minds, formed by a more generous literature from nobler schools and better habits, are so palpable, and so odious; so disappointing, and so pernicious [110].

Sweden and Denmark.

One of those national revolutions, which at times unexpectedly arise for the benefit of mankind, occurred, soon after Henry's accession, in the ancient Scandinavia. As the fourteenth century was closing, Margaret of Denmark had united the Swedish and Danish crowns into one monarchy [111]; and the union had lasted unbroken above a century, until the sceptre of the ruling country came into the hands of Christiern II, who succeeded to his father, in Denmark, as the sovereign of the united kingdoms [112].

[110] It is the remark of Montaigne on Guicciardini, 'that among so many events and councils which he delineates, he never ascribes any to virtue, religion, or conscience.' But it is a fair question, whether this was a morose omission of the historian, or whether, from his political situations, he found the public characters who were then agitating Italy deficient in these qualities. I am afraid his subjects were more deficient than his own moral taste.

[111] Pontanus narrates his history from 1387 to 1412. in the ninth book of his Ren. Danic. Hist. p. 513–544.

[112] His father John, to give him a very private education, and to learn Latin well, had placed him under a retired citizen for his residence, and under a canon for his classical tuition. But he was so ungovernable

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The elder Steno Sture had began a Swedish opposition, and had solicited the Norwegians to join in a revolt[113]. On his death, the younger Sture, having been appointed administrator of the kingdom, attempted a patriotic rebellion against Christiern; but being killed by a cannon shot[114], Christiern, in 1513, became the king of both Sweden and Denmark[115]. His tyrannical conduct, and especially his atrocious murder of the Swedish nobles and bishops, and his other cruelties, roused an indignant feeling against him[116], which enabled his hostage and captive, the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, to become his competitor for the throne, and finally the liberator of his country. Gustavus, emerging from the mines in which he had taken shelter, roused the mountain Swedes to throw off the yoke of an oppressor. They made him their king in 1521. He drove out the Danes, and separated Sweden permanently from the Danish crown[117]. An important emancipation! —as within less than a century afterwards, it occasioned and enabled Gustavus Adolphus to become

youth, or they were such unfit instructors, that he became more disorderly the longer he remained under their care. A better master taught him Latin so well, that he could speak it with ease. Schlegel, Hist. Dannem. p. 141–3.

[113] Loccen. Hist. Succ. L. 5. p. 158–175.

[114] Loccen. p. 185.

[115] He was born 2d July 1481. He had subdued a disaffection in Norway before his accession, and became its stadholder. Schlegel thinks he has been unjustly charged with the destruction of the Norwegian nobility. p. 147. In 1514 he married Isabella, the sister of Charles V. ib. 153. And in 1516 made an alliance with Basil, the Czar of Muscovy. p. 155.

[116] Loccen. p. 188–193. His plan was to unite firmly in himself the three northern crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, by destroying their great men; and he killed even those who had assisted him. Schleg. p. 174.

[117] Loccen. p. 197–220.

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the protector of all protestant Europe, from being again subjected to papal domination; and to emancipate all Germany from the oppressive monarchy of Austria, which, under Tilly and Wallenstein, had then nearly overwhelmed it. Christiern disgusted also his own Danes by his severities, and they joined his uncle Frederic to dethrone him. Despairing of domestic support, he suddenly left Copenhagen, with his queen and children, to seek foreign aid against his revolting people, hoping to return with an overpowering army[118]. After a tempest, he landed in Holland; and in June 1523, he came to England with his family, to solicit the compassion and assistance of Henry. They were received with the kindest urbanity, as we have already noticed[119]; but although he offered Iceland as a security for the pecuniary aids he might receive[120], it was not thought expedient to afford him any other political services, than friendly, but ineffectual negotiations[121].

[118] He then held Copenhagen and two other fortresses in Denmark, and Stockholm and Colmar in Sweden. This plan had succeeded with Waldeman III, but utterly failed with Christiern II.

[119] P. 71. Catherine was the aunt of his queen.

[120] Schlegel, p. 199.

[121] Wolsey's Letter of 3d July 1523, in MS. Vesp. c. 2. which Mr. Galt has printed in his Appendix, mentions the arrival of the royal family, with a train of 100 persons. He states, that the Danish crown had not 'descended to him by rightful succession of inheritance, but by election, as it hath always been accustomed;' and that on his being chosen with conditions, it was then settled, that on their violation, the electors might 'depart from his obeysance.' Wolsey added, that the king thought it strange that he should 'thus suddenly depart into remote and strange parts;' and the cardinal advised him to go back again, with the emperor and Henry's mediation by ambassadors and letters. Galt. 354-7.

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CHAP. V.

HENRY'S FOREIGN CONNEXIONS—HE DECIDES ON A WAR WITH FRANCE—INVADES IT—HIS CAMPAIGN THERE—BATTLE OF SPURS—WITHDRAWS HIS FORCE—HIS SISTER MARY MARRIED TO LOUIS XII.

CHAP. V.

In his foreign policy, Henry at first pursued his father's steps, and before his coronation, renewed the alliance with the emperor[1]. In the next spring, he signed a similar treaty with Louis XII[2]; but within thirteen days afterwards, a golden rose arrived from the unsleeping Julius, with a letter stating that it had been blessed by his hands, sprinkled with odoriferous musk, and anointed with holy oil[3]. The additional message was, that having made peace with the Venetians, and inclined Ferdinand to engage in a confederation against the French, he wished Henry to head it. His solicitations did not obtain this boon immediately, but at the latter end of the ensuing month Henry entered into a defensive league with the king of Arragon for the protection of his Spanish dominions, pledging himself to take the field in person if the French king so attacked him[4]. Yet, at first averse from mixing himself with the pope's martial politics, Henry preferred to send

[1] It is dated Westminster, 20th June 1509, and is printed in 13 Rymer, 259.
[2] Dated London, 23d March 1510. Rym. 270.
[3] See his Epistle of 5th April 1510, in Wilkins' Concilia.v. 3. 652.
[4] 24th May 1510. Rym. 281.

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ambassadors to France in July, before whom Louis ratified and swore to their recent treaty[5]. But altho he thus established friendly relations with both France and Spain, as well as the emperor, he kept aloof from their hostilities; and sent archbishop Bambridge to Rome, to negociate with Julius, who soon made him a cardinal[6]; and to procure, if possible, a general pacification. This resolute neutrality, impartial and vigilant, abated the edge of the war between Louis and the pope, and prevented any formidable operations or dangerous changes on either side.

The five cardinals who were leading the council of Pisa against Julius, in November 1510, wrote to Henry from Pavia, suggesting the necessity of their proceeding to strong measures[7]. Their urgency did not govern his decision, and during the winter his counsels and his wishes began to incline towards the pope. His cabinet was divided; the churchmen and the laymen differed. Surrey led the latter, and the bishop of Winchester the former. The feelings of Henry, then not twenty, were too chivalric and too active not to be affected by the exciting attrac-

[5] We learn this from Machiavel's diplomatic correspondence. Ep. 8. p. 17. He informed his government on the 18th July 1510, that a great English embassy had arrived in France; that he had learnt from the French ministry that they had made a general proposition to Louis, and had shown that Henry was in close union with him, and looked upon him as his father. On 22d July the king swore to the treaty. ib. 25. On 26th, Machiavel added, 'When I said to the king, that the pope yet promised himself to gain England,' he smiled and said, 'Have you not yourself seen the oath taken to the peace?' ib. 31.

[6] Pol. Virg. 621, 2. The pope strove much thro him to draw Henry into his wars. ib. 622.

[7] Their original letter, dated 25th November 1510, and reply to the king's answer, from Milan, 2d April 1511, are in the British Museum, MS. Vitell. B. 2. p. 9–11.

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tions of warfare; and the knightly part of his administration coincided with his wishes; and tho he could not respect the character of Julius, he revered then, the Roman pontiff[8]. In March 1511, the new tendency of his political decision appeared, in one thousand archers being sent off to Ferdinand, under the pretext of aiding him against the Moors[9]. But instead of battles with the Mahometans, Ferdinand, who hoped with English soldiers to abstract from France the districts about the Pyrennees, in October joined in a league with Julius and Venice; in which, after stating that Henry had assented to it by his ambassador, it was agreed that the pope should be allowed or assisted to recover not only Bologna, but all the provinces that had belonged to the Roman see, and particularly the duchy of Ferrara[10]. In November, Henry combined in an express alliance with Ferdinand, avowedly in defence of the church[11]; and in the spring of the following year, a prelate was sent to represent England at the pope's council of Lateran[12]. An English armament sailed down the channel to promote the object of the new confederacy[13]; while a herald was commissioned to announce to Louis the intentions of the English government. The fleet landed English troops, which Ferdinand used to make a conquest of Navarre for his own

[8] Pol. Virg. 621–4. He gives the reasonings of the opposing parties.
[9] Their commission, dated 8th March 1511, is in Rymer, p. 294. On 20th April, Ferdinand wrote his letter of thanks for their arrival. ib.
[10] See this league of 4th October 1511, in Rymer, p. 305.
[11] Dated 17th Nov. Rym. 311.
[12] His powers of 1st April 1512, directed him and R. Wingfield 'to go pro bono universalis ecclesiæ catholicæ et pro reformatione ejus tam in *capite*, quam in membris.' Rym. 325.
[13] Their commission was issued 7th April 1512. Rym. 736.

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benefit; and sir Edmond Howard, on his return with the ships, made a plundering descent on Bretagne [14], which distressed individuals without producing any national advantage.

The victory of the French at Ravenna creating uneasiness at their preponderance, instead of intimidating the papal allies, compacted their union. In July, the king of Arragon authorized his ambassador in England to conclude the most extensive combination against France which had yet appeared, embracing Henry and the emperor as well as Julius and the Venetians [15]. Four months afterwards Henry fully acceded to it, and issued his letters patent declaring that he had done so [16]. The pope was so earnest to rouse human arms to give effect to his worldly politics, that he presumed, like some of his predecessors, to issue, what we might call with the mildest epithets fallacious, altho if so, they must be deemed impious, indulgences to such of Henry's subjects as should accompany him in his invasion of France [17]; and in the ensuing spring, the new pontiff,

[14] Pol. Virg. Louisa, the mother of Francis I. notes in her journal, the 23d April 1512, as the day when the herald delivered the message to the king at Bles; and the 11th June, as the time when the news first reached him, that the English had made descents on Bretagne and at Fontarabbie. Mem. v. 16. p. 414.

[15] 13 Rymer, p. 336.

[16] Rym. p. 341, 2. and also in MS. Vitell. B. 2. p. 34.

[17] See them in Rymer, p. 343. When a reader finds the controversialists of the Romish church asserting that indulgencies do not pardon sin, but only release from its temporal or temporary punishments, he must not mistake this to mean only penances or penalties of this life. These temporary punishments are those of the imagined purgatory: that state, which their church places between death and the infernal regions, where sufferings being considered to be eternal, those of purgatory, however severe, or for how many ages, are distinguished from the others, as being still only for a time, or temporary. I add this note, because the use of the term temporary, without noticing purgatory, leads us to suppose, that the pains of the present life are only alluded to by it.

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Leo X. adopting the schemes of his predecessor, entered into a league like the former with Henry and Maximilian [18]. CHAP. V.

The French ordered out a part of their navy to repel sir Edmond Howard. A sharp engagement ensued, in which the two principal ships of each fleet became entangled; and the French captain, Primauget, a hardy veteran and an experienced navigator, seeing no escape, set fire to his ship in heroic despair [19]. The flames involved and consumed both vessels, with almost all their crews; and by this dreadful production of human suffering, showed, that what pride or passion may prompt or paint as heroism, has in reality more alliance with the spirit and malignity of a destructiue demon, than with the merit, duty or praise of feeling or reasoning men [20].

[18] It was settled at Malines on 5th April 1513. Rym. 354. In p. 363 is the oath of Ferdinand's ambassador, *by the souls* of the king and queen of Spain to observe this treaty, which yet Ferdinand afterwards hesitated to ratify, leaving Henry and the rest to take the burthen on themselves. Herbert has translated the articles, p. 29.

[19] Mem. du Bellay, p. 19.

[20] Wolsey's letter to bishop Fox, mentions this engagement on 12th Aug. 1513. 'Our folks met twenty great ships of France, the best furnished with artillery and men that ever was seen. After innumerable shooting of guns and long chasing, the Regent most valiantly boarded the great Carrick, off Brest, wherein were 4 lords, 300 gentlemen, 800 soldiers and marines, 400 cross-bow men, 100 gunners. Our men so valiantly acquitted themselves, that within one hour's fight, they had utterly vanquished with shot of guns and arrows, the said Carrick, and slain most part of the men; and suddenly, as they were yielding themselves, the Carrick was one flaming fire; and the Regent was so anchored and fastened to it, that by no means possible she might depart from it; and so both, within three hours, were burnt, and *most part* of the men in them.' The rest of the French fled back to Brest. Fiddes, Wols. Coll. p. 10. Wolsey sending intimation that only he and the king knew it, and begging it to be kept awhile secret, is explained by the Mem. du Bayard: 'The English suffered here a 'gross and lourde perte,' for a great *number of gentlemen perished*, without the possibility of being saved.' p. 339.

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Undismayed by the confederation against him, which aimed to debilitate France as she had depressed Venice, Louis sent his best general, Tremouille, with a competent army, over the Alps, in the spring of 1513, to retake Milan from the son of Ludovico Sforza. The Switzers had been engaged to protect Lombardy, and a body of above seven thousand were dispatched to defend the pass of Suza. But the French having descended into the plain before these arrived, they took post at Novarra, awaiting the arrival of another army of their countrymen that was coming by the vale of Aosta to join them. To destroy these Swiss battalions before their reinforcements could arrive, Tremouille, without staying for the remainder of his own forces, besieged them in Novarra. He made what he thought a sufficient breach, tho the descent from it was scarcely practicable, and was preparing an assault [21], when intelligence came that the expected Swiss had arrived at Yvrea. It was a balance of difficulties; but he thought it wiser to defer his attack on the part he was besieging, where his entrance would be disputed in every street by unyielding Swiss with their long spears and arquebusses, and to proceed with undiminished forces to meet the new comers in their more accessible line of march. But these

[21] Fleuranges, who was there, describes the breach as large enough to admit fifty men in front; but they would have had to leap down fifteen feet into the town, and the houses were filled with the Swiss arquebussiers. Two cannons were then placed against the adjoining gate and burst it; the Swiss immediately made a sortie, but were repulsed. Fleuranges and some other of the lansquenet captains recommended that each should cut off the sleeve of his shirt, fill them with powder, and throw them into the city to set it on fire; but the proposal was not adopted. p. 127.

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troops, apprized of his intentions, and watching with a wary eye his position, passed with skilful activity, by a night march, to the left of his camp near Trecato, and got into Novarra[22]. Perceiving as they passed, that he was not in the town, but in the assailable fields near it, where a wood that extended thence to Novarra[23] confined him and would conceal themselves; and that from this position his formidable cavalry could not act, they issued out immediately afterwards early in the morning, with the garrison, and with a right-judged celerity, under the cover of the wood, attacked Tremouille in two divisions; one determinedly in front, the other turning his right and assailing his rear[24]. If they failed, they had a safe retreat through the woods. The battle was fierce: both were resolute; but Tremouille had been surprised[25]; and failing to attain the victory, it became notwithstanding all his abilities, and the exertions of his gendarmerie, and from the very perseverance of his ineffectual struggles, but more decisive against him. The French were totally

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[22] His memoirs put the fault on others, for misplacing his encampment; and gives his speech to his captains, accusing his marshal for so lodging them without his permission, when he meant them to have taken up his station at Trecato; but his hearers thought it best as it was, as they would not believe it possible that the Swiss would come to attack them, and as their removing would give up a rich district to his enemies. p. 187, 8. Fleuranges states that the army was not taken into Trecato, because the citizens had bribed the directing officers to save them from the burthen. p. 130.

[23] I take the account from Du Bellay, p. 14–18. as it seems to be the best narrative of the greater movements. Fleuranges, whose detail is minute and picturesque, drops the actual reason of the retiring from the siege.

[24] Fleur. 131.

[25] Fleuranges says, Tremouille had told his captains that night, that they might sleep securely and make good cheer, for the Swiss had not collected their men, and were not ready to attack them. p. 131.

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defeated, and nearly destroyed, and those who escaped evacuated Italy immediately[26].

1513: Henry's invasion of France.

But the greatest blow on the French kingdom was expected from Henry. "The pope and all other great men here now looked daily to hear that your grace shall utterly exterminate the French king," was the language to Henry from his cardinal ambassador at Rome[27].

Of the English forces destined for the attack on France, the largest part was sent to Calais in May, under Lord Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert[28]; and on 30th June, the king, with the last portion in one hundred vessels, sailed out of Dover. It is not strictly necessary, in order to reach Calais from that port, to go first to Boulogne, nor usually wise to give an adversary full notice of your coming. But Henry, then but twenty-one, could not resist the desire of announcing to France that the king was on his way. His fleet was therefore navigated towards Boulogne, that, as he passed it, he might

[26] Bellay. Fleuranges says, he was taken prisoner, with 46 wounds; that the flower of the Swiss fell there, and more of them than of the French lansquenets, who had chiefly struggled with them. p. 134, 5. The letters of cardinal Bambridge from Rome, 10th June, to the king, printed from the Cotton library, Vitell. B. 2, in Fiddes Coll. p. 7. gives the account, 'that upon *Sunday* last, a great, most cruel battle was committed at Novarra.' He makes the two bodies of the Swiss 5,500 and 7,000, and the French army 8,500. He says, the victory of the Swiss 'is here esteemed marvellous noble;' but they lost 5,000 men. 'The pope hath this night shot a solemn peel of guns in triumph of the premises.' ib.

[27] See the above letter, p. 8. Louis, to intimidate or endanger Henry, had called into France the duke of Suffolk, as a competitor for the crown of England, from the Yorkist line, which occasioned the execution of this duke's brother, (Guicc. 12. p. 409.) on the charge of a treasonable correspondence with him.

[28] Hall, 537.

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cause such " a great peal of guns to be shot, that it could be heard both at Calais and Dover[29]."

He landed in the evening at Calais, and was welcomed with three discharges of artillery, which he and his soldiers seem to have enjoyed[30]. He received the imperial ambassadors on the following day, and went with them then to the church, where the Te Deum was grandly sung, with military accompaniments[31]. Other envoys arrived, who found the king in a garden, shooting arrows in competition with some of the strongest bowmen, and beating them in their art[32]. After waiting some days more to complete the supplies for his campaign[33],

[29] This is mentioned in a short MS. account of a herald, which is among the Lansdowne MSS. N° 818. The French returned this compliment with a little expedition from Boulogne the same night, which roused Henry from his bed. 'The king waked and came to the walls, and demanded what the matter meant.' It was an attempt to burn the tents that were outside of the town. Hall, 540.

[30] Dr. John Tayler, a clerk in parliament, who was with the expedition, has left a Latin diary of it, which is in the British Museum, MS. Cleop. c. 5. He remarks, that the king's arrival was gratulated with tanto bombardarum terribili boatu, from ships, walls, and towers, that you would have thought the ruin of the world was come. p. 66. He addresses his account to John Young, vice chancellor of England. So that we had a vice chancellor under Henry VIII.

[31] Tayler's MS. ib. 67.

[32] Ib. MS. 68. Guicciardini observes of Henry's preparations, that he consumed many months in them, because his subjects, having been many years without wars, and their manner of warfare being much changed, and their bows and usual arms having become unprofitable, he was constrained to make great provision of artillery and other munitions. L. 12. p. 470.

[33] The Herald's MS. thus describes his stay at Calais: the king landed about seven in the evening, and proceeded to St. Nicholas church, made his offering and had 'Te Deum' sung, and went to his lodgings at the Staple Inn, and remained there that night. 1st July, the ambassadors of the emperor and Margaret came and delivered their charge in the king's dining chamber. He then went to mass in the church, and returned. 3rd, Mass again. 4th, Lord Howard went and burnt Whitsand, and took great pillage. 5th, A great tempest dispersed the ships; some victuallers lost. 9th, King heard mass at St. Peter's; thence to the 16, employed in providing what was necessary for the army. 16th, He

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BOOK I. on the 21st he quitted Calais on his way to Terouenne[34].

set forth the fore ward of his own battle, and the middle ward under lord marshall Lyle. 21st, The king ordered his officers of arms to display his banner, and sir Henry Guilford to bear it, and to set forward. In setting forth, sir Henry Marney had his leg broken by a horse, and others hurt; and it was long before the army could be set in order, as devised by the council. Lansdowne MS. p. 6.

[34] The same Herald has given a programme of the order of march which, as illustrating the costume of the day, we will subjoin:

Horsemen.		The Ordnance.		Horsemen.
Three ranks of Archers, 200.		The Almayns - - - - - 1500		Three ranks of Archers, 200.
		Sir - - - - - - - 100		
		Sir - - - - - - - 100		
		Sir - - - - - - - 100		
		Sir - - - - - - - 100		
		G - - - - - - - 120		
		KINGS' STANDARD.		
		Lord Bergavenny - - - 400		
		Duke Buckingham - - - 400		
Three ranks of Bills, 200.		Mr. Almoner (Wolsey) - - 200		Three ranks of Bills, 200.
		Bp. Durham - - - - - 100		
		Bp. Winchester - - - - 100		
		TRINITY BANNER		
		With the Housbhold - - 300		
		THE KING		
		With the Bannars and Guard 600		
Three ranks of Archers, 200.		Sir - - - - - - - - 100		Three ranks of Archers, 200.
		Sir - - - - - - - - 100		
		W. - - - - - - - - 200		
		Sir - - - - - - - - 100		
		Pikes of lord Lyle - - - 900		
		D° of d. Buckingham - 100		
		D° of lord Bergavenny - 100		
Horsemen.		Ordnance.		Horsemen.

All along baggage meddled with ordnance.

All along baggage meddled with ordnance.

The Total is added as - - - 7,545.

Lansdowne MS. p. 2.

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CHAP V.

The campaign of the English in France had been begun by the siege of Terouenne, a fortified town in Picardy, before he arrived, and he proceeded towards the besieging camp. Violent rains accompanied his march, which penetrated the tents where he rested for the night; he passed it without sleeping, and at three in the morning was seen on horseback visiting the centinels, and conversing with them affably[35]. Twelve cannons of unusual size were with him[36]. Finding, as he came to a small river, his troops averse from venturing thro it; he dismounted immediately from his horse, and went in himself; the others then followed, and he led them over[37].

On the first news of this invasion, Louis had sent Tremouille to defend Normandy, who fortified the most endangered places, and roused the spirit of the people to a resolution to resist[38]. But when the English were unexpectedly found to limit their attention to the capture of Terouenne, it was felt that the protraction of the siege would be the preservation of the kingdom; and to prolong that, and to avoid battle, was the policy adopted for the national defence.

On the king's fourth day of march a fog came on, that made the horizon invisible, An alarm spread, that the French were near. Henry immediately

[35] Tayler, MS. Diary, p. 70.

[36] One of these being overturned in a pond, one hundred workmen next day strove to draw it out. The French surprised them, and carried it off. Tayler MS. ib. These were absurdly called from their number 'The Twelve Apostles.' The duc de Ferrara, more fitly named one of his 'Le grand diable;' thus as fitly described by Fleuranges, 'the finest I ever saw, and shot the best; it marvellously annoyed their camp, and killed a great many of their people.' p. 77. A truly 'plus belle' effect.

[37] Hall, 541.

[38] Mem. Tremouille, 191.

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arranged his force into the order of battle, and placed his artillery in its stations[39]. A body of twelve hundred French horse approached. The king dismounted, and placed himself in the centre of his lansquenets, ardent for the attack. The celebrated Bayard was among the French knights, and entreated the commanding general to make an onset. "If we penetrate, we break them; if they repel us, we can always retire, because they are on foot, and we are mounted." But de Piennes answered, "I have been charged by the king, my master, on my life, to risk nothing, but only to guard the country[40]." Henry finding they would not fight, as he had hoped, was obliged to unfurl his banners, and proceed. The French skirmished about the flank and rear, and Bayard took one of his largest guns[41].

The king joined the camp, before Terouenne, on 1st August, but the heavy rains checked their military operations[42]. For himself, he had a timber house made with an iron chimney; but his state lodgings, were large blue tents, one hundred and twenty-five feet long, where many of the Flemish nobility and common people came to see him[43]. The count of Angouleme, the expectant heir of the French crown, and afterwards the celebrated Francis I. was sent to take the command of the forces that were

[39] Tayler MS. 71. [40] Mem. Bayard, p. 342.
[41] Mem. Bay. 343. Tayler MS. 72.
[42] Tayler, speaking as he felt, says, 'No mortal could be of such an iron or stony heart, as to see our soldiers in their night watches sticking in mud up to their knees all the sleepless night, and not pity them.' MS. p. 74. Hall remarks, 'there fell such rain that the ordnance could scarce be removed, the arable ground was so soft.' p. 543.
[43] Hall, 543.

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assembling to watch the English[44]. They hovered continually round the camp, attacking all that straggled out, intercepting the foragers, and surprising where they could, especially the German troops, and retiring to the woods as forces were sent against them[45]. The garrison vigorously discharged their artillery[46]; and from their activity in repairing their walls when damaged; from the embarrassments of the wet weather[47]; or, from the presence of an impending army; that would never come into close contact, but was already to profit by every favorable accident, Henry attempted no assault. His mines were baffled by countermines; and the French light cavalry, called stradiotes, were continually annoying him[48].

The emperor arrived, as he had promised, in the vicinity of the royal camp. The king went out to meet him in a dress rich with jewels, and with a splendid train of his chief nobles, in pompous

[44] His mother, Louise, has entered in her journal, '16 July 1513, my son, as subject of Louis XII. left Paris to go into Picardy, against the English.' p. 415.

[45] Tayler MS. 74. This author mentions that on 9th August the camp was roused by information that the French had attacked the Burgundian quarter; 'then the trumpets proclaimed tara tantara, with a terrible sound, and every one ran armed to his leader's banner, and the field was covered with light armed cavalry, who hastened to rescue our allies.' ib. 76.

[46] Tayler remarks, that their copper balls, eighteen inches round, even reached the king's tent, but without injury. MS. 77.

[47] Tayler often notices what he disliked so much, 'all night continual rain infected those placed to watch; nor was it less pertinacious and troublesome the following days; so that the most sumptuous tent for the emperor, wove in gold and purple in the most costly manner, was greatly damaged.' 76.

[48] Hall, 543. Some of these stradiotes were taken and brought in to Henry as a military novelty. They had short stirrups, beaver hats, small spears, and swords like Turkish scimitars. ib.

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dresses of gold and silver tissue, and their horses with tassels and bells of gold; but the atmosphere which heeds no human grandeur, poured down its torrents so profusely, that the sovereigns were compelled to make their colloquy brief; and Maximilian, whose plain German black dress better suited "the foulest weather that had been seen"—he had lately buried his empress—returned in haste to Aire, while the English sovereign regained his entrenchments[49]. The emperor condescended to become one of Henry's soldiers for a hundred crowns a day[50].

The next morning an herald arrived from the king of Scotland, to declare, after a long statement of other pretexts, that unless Henry retired immediately from France, the Scottish government would lay waste his dominions with a devastating warfare. Such a menace was not likely to deter. Henry coolly remarked, that his surprise was not small, that his royal brother should so unceremoniously violate his solemn oaths of peace and friendship; but, if he had so resolved, he might pursue his determination, and the righteous Deity would avenge it. The herald was supplied with a written answer, as he requested[51].

[49] Hall, 544. Tayler MS. 77.

[50] Bellay, 26. Hall, 548. On this interview queen Catherine wrote to Wolsey: 'I was very glad to hear the meeting of them both, which hath been to my seeming, the greatest honor to the king that ever came to prince. The emperor hath done every thing like himself. I trust he shall be thereby known for one of the excellentest princes in the world, and *taken for another* man than he was before thought.' 1 Ellis Orig. Let. 85.

[51] The long letter of James is in Hall, p. 545–7, and the answer, p. 547, 8. This was delivered to the herald, with a present of one hundred ngels. 'But before he could have ship and wind, his master was slain.' Hall, 548.

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CHAP. V.

Henry had now been six weeks in France, and Terouenne was not yet taken, nor had he gained that glorious victory from his invasion, which even his sober-minded queen pleased herself with anticipating[52]. His activity was paralysed by the stubborn defence of this first town that he attacked, and the continuance of its resistance was found to be so salutary to France, that, as its provisions were falling short, Louis sent express orders that it should be revictualled at every hazard[53].

To accomplish this necessary but difficult purpose, a competent body of Albanians was selected, to advance two hours before day[54] to the walls, each man carrying on the neck of his horse a side of bacon, and some gunpowder, which were to be thrown into the fosse of the castle, whence the besieged, under the discharge of their guns and cross bows, might draw them in[55]. To divert and occupy the attention of the English, all the French gendarmerie were called out[56], and arranged under different commanders, to make demonstrations against various points of the besieging camp; and the hills of Guingette were fixed to be their rallying and retiring station when their service had been performed. The main French army was then at Blangy. Some inti-

[52] Queen Catherine, on 26th July, had written to Wolsey: 'I trust that the king shall come home shortly, with as great victory as any prince in the world, and this I pray God send him without need of any other prince.' 1 Ellis Orig. Lett. 80.

[53] Mem Bayard, 343. 'Louis had himself once felt the sufferings of an attacked town. He had himself been besieged in Novarra, when they were reduced to feed on dogs and rats.' M. Bellay, 40.

[54] Memoires de Fleuranges, 145, who says of the bacon, 'que est chose merveilleusement bonne en une ville.' ib.

[55] Mem. M. Bellay 22. [56] Mem. Bayard, 344.

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mations of their intention reached Henry; and the duke of Buckingham, with six thousand men, marched to the hills, and remained all night in order of battle, expecting the enemy. The French were too wise to be caught by an anticipation so indiscreet; they deferred their enterprise and the duke retired [57].

Three days afterwards the English were alarmed by a sudden mutiny of their German battalions. Some vulgar altercations rousing them to fury, they seized the artillery, and cannonaded their allies [58]. Many were killed, but their captains appeased them as the English were rushing to attack, and the emperor, coming in haste from Aire, brought them back to their duty [59]; but the bustle of the event encouraged the French to fix the following morning for the succor of Terouenne.

Henry had made this relief more difficult by having carried five bridges over the river, that the town might be more completely surrounded. On the 16th August, he was informed that a body of horse was seen on Guingette hills. His advanced guard was attacked, and a prisoner stated, that fifteen thousand cavalry were coming from Blangy to relieve Terouenne. Some explorers returning, declared they had seen twelve thousand advancing in order of battle. The king immediately arrayed his army, and placed his ordnance. He was advised to strike his tents, to guard against the chances of war. His answer evinced, that his love of pomp was not inferior to his courage: "I will, that my

[57] Hall, 549. [58] Taylor MS. 78. [59] Hall, 549.

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field be this day made as royally as may be, and all my rich tents set up[60]." The emperor came with thirty men in their red crosses, as part of his employed soldiery; and the mass of the English forces, nearly all infantry, moved on with their knightly cavalry a mile in advance. The king wished to be with his horse, but his ministers restrained him[61].

The French at various points made a show of attacking, and frequently skirmished; but it was only to mask their great object, and to enable their Albanians to reach the town. Some of these may have fulfilled their purpose, but others failed[62]. Sir Rice ap Thomas joined Lord Talbot, and leaving a force to repress the sallies that were made from Terouenne, marched with their divisions to intercept the French retreat. The Welsh commander, attacking too presumptuously, was taken[63]. As Talbot approached they receded to the hills; and seeing that the English army was on foot, and its horsemen few, while they were all cavalry, they considered, from their great number, the danger of pursuit over when they got to the heights of Guingette; and the day being very sultry, they paused to refresh themselves, while some took off their helmets, and dismounted from their chargers[64].

[60] Hall, 550.

[61] Hall, ib.

[62] Fleuranges, who was in the field, says, that the bacon was abandoned on the dispersion; but as Bellay, also a soldier and a contemporary, has recorded that the relief was executed 'bref and dextrement,' we can reconcile their differences only by supposing that if some of the provisions were thrown away, others were successfully deposited.

[63] Tayler MS. 79. 'Audacius quam cautius hostem insequendo.'

[64] M. Bellay, 22, 3.

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Battle of Spurs, 16 Aug. 1513.

But the English forces were marching on, and an advance of six miles brought them again in sight of the French gendarmerie[65]. The English cavalry, tho greatly inferior in number, were tempted to leave their infantry, and exclaiming "St. George for ever!" pressed forward on their opponents. The French skirmished awhile as they came on, with more spirit than perseverance[66]; but they had been unexpectedly assailed in their disordered state, and their commander, continuing his cautious plan, ordered the trumpets to sound a retreat.

The gendarmerie began obediently to retire in a stately pace, but the vigor of the attack compelled this to become a trot, and in a short time a gallop. By this time the impetuous English knights had reached them, and dashing on them with fearless self-confidence, all gave way into a flight of confusion[67]. It then became a contest which could spur their horses to the fastest speed, the pursuers or the pursued. This subjected the French cavalry to many taunts, perhaps unjustly[68]; and alert to cover the disgrace or disaster by a joke, they humorously called the affair "The Battle of the Spurs[69]." Both nations were pleased with the fancy, and adopted the good-humored appellation.

[65] 'Tandum cum 6 milearia miles noster pedes fecerat, ventum est ad locum Bosny quem dicunt.' Tayler MS. 79

[66] 'Acrius quam constantius.' Tayler MS. ib.

[67] Mem. Bayard, 346.

[68] The contemporary writer of Bayard's Memoirs thus apologizes, not unfairly, for the flight: 'One thing, which few knew, occasioned unjust blame to the French gentlemen. It is, that all their captains declared to their gens d'armes that this expedition was only to throw supplies into Therouenes; and that they were not to fight. So that if their enemies came on in large bodies, they were to retire 'au pas;' if pressed, 'au trot, et du trot au galap,' for they were to risk nothing.' p. 345.

[69] Hall, 550. M. Bellay so names it, ib. 23. And even the royal

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The defeat of the gendarmerie involved the question, whether the whole French army should fight or fly on this unexpected pursuit. Happily for that, Bayard, the knight without reproach, was among those who retreated. He retired with fourteen men at arms, often turning on his pursuers, till he reached a place where only two could pass in front. At this point he called out, "We halt here. Our enemies will be an hour gaining this post. Go and tell them so at the camp." He was obeyed, and stopped the progress of his enemies till the French army was duly collected and reinstated in its encampment, ready to receive any general attack. Having done this service, and perceiving further resistance impossible, Bayard was about to surrender, when he saw seated apart from his assailants, under a tree, a single knight, who, to cool himself from the violent heat, and thinking no danger nigh, had taken off part of his armor, Bayard suddenly rode up to him, and presenting his sword to his throat, exclaimed, "Surrender to me, or you die." The knight had no other alternative and yielded himself his captive. This done, the other replied, "I am the Chevalier du Bayard, and I now surrender myself a prisoner to you." The knight led him to the English camp. The emperor on seeing him, remarked rather freely, that on other occasions it had been said, that Bayard never fled. His immediate answer was, "Sire, if I had fled, I should not have been here." Henry received him more

Louise in her diary, '23 Aug. 1513. At Cognac, I was informed of the taking of M. de Longueville and other captains, on the day of the Spurs.' p. 415.

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graciously, and they began conversing on the retreat. The king declared that he had never seen gentlemen fly so well before, nor in such a large number, for they were only chased by five hundred horse[70]. Bayard placed their excuse on their orders not to fight, and claimed the liberty of departing without ransom, as the knight had first surrendered to him. The knight resisted, and the decision was left to the emperor and the king. They agreed, that as each had become prisoner to the other, they were both quits, and that Bayard should be released on giving his parole that he would keep six weeks out of the war[71]. The Burgundians disputed with the English for the other captives, with an animosity that endangered their future co-operation[72].

That Henry contemplated with exultation the feat of five hundred Englishmen driving before them the gendarmerie of France, is sufficiently obvious[73]; but in his delight at this personal triumph, he lost the great prize that was at that moment actually within his reach—the humiliation of the power of France. The whole army which could be mustered to defend it, was then assembled at Blangy, and Fleuranges had brought up fourteen thousand lansquenets to reinforce it[74]. The cavalry of Henry and Maximilian

[70] 'At this time the French gendarmerie were all gentlemen, and it was death for a gendarme to fly or to surrender, if his right arm was sound and his horse alive.' Obs. sur l'ancienne Milice France. Mem. v. 17. p. 400-4.

[71] Mem. Bay. 348-351. These memoirs were published in 1527, only fourteen years after these circumstances.

[72] Tayler MS. 81.

[73] So did his people: and his queen writes, 'the victory hath been so great, that I think nonesuch has been seen before.' 1 Ellis. 84. Dr. Tayler calls it a glorious victory. MS. 80.

[74] Mem. Fleuranges, 147.

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had chased the French gendarmerie into it, but then paused. They had outridden their infantry, and as the interval created by Bayard had given time for the French forces to be collected and put in order, they could not attack alone. But Fleuranges (who was one of the commanders in the French camp), confesses the important fact, that upon that day, or upon the next, Henry, with the rest of his forces, ought to have attacked it. "They should have followed their good fortune. In my opinion IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MARVELLOUSLY WELL DONE[75]." These words need no comment. The grand battle which the king wanted, and the objects for which alone he had invaded, were in his power,—but he did not discern, and no one near him remarked that they were so. He forbore to assault the camp, and returned to the siege of the petty Terouenne, losing the fairest opportunity of shaking the French crown, by the destruction or dispersion of its only protecting army. CHAP. V.

But Louis was so alarmed at the account from his camp, that altho suffering severely from disease, he caused himself to be carried in a litter to Amiens, and directed Francis to put the army out of danger, by withdrawing it from Blangy. He dislodged it immediately, before Henry could recover from his elation, or discover his omission, and placed it at

[75] Mem. Fleuranges, 147. We have a similar indication from the more distant Guicciardini: 'It was thought that if the English had followed their fortune, they had that very day opened a way to be masters of the whole realm of France; for that behind stood a great battle of lance knights; and if they had been overthtown, it had been with such great damage to the French army, that the king, when he first heard of the affair, supposing that they also had been broken, was in despair, and preparing to fly into Bretagne.' V. 12. p. 471.

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Ancre, beyond the Somme, where it was secure from any sudden attack, and ready to march to any point that might be necessary [76].

France had never been in a greater peril since the death of Henry V. At this juncture, the Swiss, who had cut to pieces the French Italian army at the battle of Novarra, had found the road open to them over the Alps into France itself; and incited by the pope, had actually crossed these mountains, and advancing with rapid and unresisted progress into the heart of Burgundy, were besieging Dijon, while Henry was pressing Terouenne [77].

Tremouille, the ablest officer in France, was commissioned to withstand them. He had no forces that could meet them in the field, and he limited his skill to a brave and successful defence of Dijon. His ingenuity and activity were so effective, that altho it was not a strongly fortified town, he detained them five weeks before it [78]. But he saw that the kingdom was in a dangerous crisis, since, if they took it, they might immediately advance straight to Paris [79]. He sent earnestly to Louis for aid and instructions, who answered that he was unable to assist him, and that he must do what he found to be the most expedient [80]. Left to his discretion, when the Swiss artillery had made a breach in the walls, he sent an able friend to confer secretly with the Swiss commanders. The agent found them very lofty and arrogant. They avowed their intentions to be to send sixteen thousand

[76] M. Du Bellay, 23.
[77] Mem. Bayard, 347. Bellay, 25. Fleuranges, 137. Their numbers are differently stated from 15 to 30,000 men.
[78] M. Bellay, 25.
[79] Mem. Bayard, 356.
[80] Mem. Tremouille, p. 195.

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men to Paris to seize the capital of France, and twelve thousand to the Bourbonnois for devastation and plunder[81]. He reminded them of the benefits they had received from the French nation, and what greater they might still expect from its friendship, and how prejudicial its ruin would be to their own safety. They permitted Tremouille to have with them a confidential interview, and he persuaded them to accept four hundred thousand crowns and some individual pensions, and to withdraw over their Alps[82]. Some part of the French nobility called the treaty dishonorable. It might be so in a court of chivalry, or to readers of knightly romance; but Du Bellay suggests that necessity has no law[83]; and the biographer of Bayard, then living, asserts with apparent truth, that never did man do France a greater service on one day, than Tremouille accomplished on that, when he induced them to retire[84]. Henry and Maximilian expressed the same feeling when, on hearing of the retreat, they called the Switzers traitors and villains, in whose faith there could be no affiance[85]. Thus as his French contemporary remarks, altho Louis had on his hands in this year, 1513, "de terribles affaires," and tho "the greatest part of the European powers, and especially

[81] Mem. Trem. 194. Their provisions were salted and dried flesh, which they ground to powder, and made into soup. Ib. Few of the Swiss understood the French language. p. 196.

[82] M. Bayard, 307. M. Fleuranges, 140. Bellay, 25. Fleuranges mentions the pensions.

[83] M. Bellay, 25.

[84] Mem. Bayard, 357. Tremouille could only give them at the moment 20,000 crowns, but he gave his nephew and other friends as hostages for the rest.

[85] Mem. Fleuranges, 141.

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those near him, had sworn his ruin, he happily preserved his kingdom[86].

He could not have been so fortunate if Henry VIII. had possessed the military mind of Henry V. or even of Tremouille; but altho he and his nobility were not to be surpassed by any age as heroes in personal bravery and ability, he did not possess, and perhaps happily for the comfort of mankind, the talents of a great commander[87]. Hence the king forced the French camp at Blangy, when it was impressible; nor established an effective communication with the Swiss at Dijon, nor planned with them any masterly measure of overwhelming co-operation. He suffered himself to be detained before an inferior town till the summer was consumed[88], and which he took only to destroy immediately afterwards, to suit the Flemish interests of the emperor, whose Low Countries frontier it annoyed[89].

[86] Mem. Bay. 357. Guicciardini concurs with the French biographers in representing the important benefit of Tremouille's negotiation with the Swiss. 'It was generally thought, that this agreement was the cause of saving the whole realm of France; for if Dijon had been taken, the Swiss could have run without resistance to the walls of Paris; and it was not unlikely that the king of England passing the river Seine, would have taken the field to join with them, which the French could not have hindered.' V. 12. p. 472.

[87] Machiavel remarked on this invasion, 'tho England had had no wars for thirty years before, and had neither officers nor soldiers who had ever seen a battle, they ventured to attack a kingdom where the officers were excellent and the soldiers very good, and who had been trained up for several years together in the Italian wars.' Dis. Liv. c. 21. p. 293.

[88] Unable to relieve it, and delivered from the Swiss, and as we may infer, having sounded the depth of Henry's military genius, Louis directed the governor of Terouenne to make the best terms he could. Henry pleased with its surrender, gave it a favorable capitulation, and entered it 24th August. M. Bellay, 24. Hall, 552.

[89] Mem. Bellay, 24. The demolition was begun three days after the surrender. Taylor MS. 84.

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But the mind which reasons on that march of events, which even Napoleon could feel, and own, in his most invincible hour, that he was oftener forced to obey than able to command, and precisely because a far stronger arm and wiser judgment than his continually directed it, will observe that there was in reality not the least occasion, as far as the good of mankind was concerned, that the mind of a Turenne or a Wellington should emerge in this unprofitable war. If there had been, what was wanted would have appeared, if not from the throne, at least from those who were in connection with it. Mankind have often witneased that, when the adequate necessities have required, some spirit unknown before, has become suddenly distinguished among his fellows, and arisen rapidly into success, estimation and employment, and achieved the salutary issues which human welfare needed; but in this angry crusade of a pope's Italian policy against France, there was no public occasion for such a character; and therefore no peculiar talent for victorious warfare emerged. It was not the value of a spear to the population of Europe, whether Louis, Maximilian, Ferdinand, Henry or duke Sforza, should conquer or be conquered, and therefore all their warfare ended in mighty agitations and petty results; and the strongest satire on their hostilities and their combining schemes, was their useless tho expensive successes, and the unexpected inefficacy of their elaborate confederation.

Having no superior tact for grand military operations, Henry, instead of projecting or prosecuting an important movement on the French kingdom,

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suffered Maximilian to lead him next to the insulated object, convenient to the emperor, of attacking Tournay[90]. He spent a few days in a festive visit to the imperial family at Lisle[91], and then, to the joy of the French court, returned from his banqueting and gallantry[92], to direct his dreaded force to the siege of this comparatively unimportant, and from its inland situation, as to any benefit to England, unserviceable place[93]. He found it an easy capture, because the French government, not supposing that he would have turned from the great objects that lay before him beyond Picardy, for such an inferior advantage, had neglected to garrison it[94]. He entered it with much exultation five days before Michaelmas[95], and celebrated the little triumph, and wasted his military season in jousting and rejoicings[96], as if that campaign by which other parts

[90] Bell. 26.

[91] Hall, 553.

[92] Louise marked it in her journal as 'good news,' to have heard that they had gone to Tournay. p. 416.

[93] Bellay remarks that it was really inclosed by the Pays Bas, having Hainault on the one side and Flanders on the other, and was also far from the sea. p. 26.

[94] Bell. ib.

[95] On 24 September, the king 'victoris more, pompa gloriosa' entered Tournay. Tayler, 91. A pompa gloriosa for an inglorious conquest! On his return to England he made Surrey duke of Norfolk, Lyle duke of Suffolk, and Wolsey bishop of Lincoln. Hall, 567.

[96] As a specimen, a brief description of one will suffice. On 18th October, the king and lord Lyle answered all comers. On the king 24 knights attended on foot, in coats of purple velvet and cloth of gold; a tent of cloth of gold was fixed for the arming and relief. Many spears were broken, and many a good buffet given. When the justs were ended, the king and all unhelmed, and rode about the tilt, and did great reverence to the ladies, and then the heralds cried 'to lodging.' The king gave the same night a sumptuous banquet of 100 dishes to the prince of Castile, (the future Charles V.) to Margaret, the emperor's daughter, and others. After the feast the ladies danced, and the king, with eleven gentlemen came in masked, with bonnets of gold, and afterwards cast their masks and garments amongst the ladies, 'take who could take.' Hall, 566. This was as near a realization of the old romances as actual life could give.

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of Europe had expected France to have been disabled, had been worthily ended by taking one town to dismantle it, and another from which the conqueror could extract no benefit. At last, on the 21st October, having shown to the observing eye how little dangerous he was likely, both in warlike talent and natural temper, to be to Europe as a great soldier, he withdrew out of France, leaving it rejoicing that such formidable means of annoying it had so harmlessly evaporated.

The queen of France dying soon after the ensuing Christmas [97], opened an avenue to a more pacific policy. The duke de Longueville made use of his captivity in England, to set on foot a marriage between the widowed Louis, and Mary, the young and beautiful sister of Henry, who had been engaged by her father to the young archduke, afterwards the celebrated Charles V.[98] The king received the overture with an avowed pleasure [99]; but as he considered it to be a virtual abandonment of the old pretensions to the French crown, he required a treaty of amity for their lives, and one year after, and an annuity of one hundred thousand crowns while it lasted. The duke thought the demands reasonable, and that his master would assent to them [100]. The

[97] Louise's entry is simply, '9 January 1514, queen Ann died at Blois.' p. 416. The Memoirs of Bayard thus briefly gives her character: 'Her greatest enjoyment consisted in doing good. Her court was the asylum and the school of every virtue.' p. 456. Her marriage fixed Bretagne to the crown of France.

[98] Rymer has printed a treaty that was made on 15th October 1513, before Henry left the continent, for effectuating this contract. V. 10. p. 378. But the council of Flanders declined the alliance. Hall, 568.

[99] In Henry's letter to Wolsey, printed in Rymer, 13. p. 143, we have the king's own account of his conference with the duke upon it.

[100] Rymer, ib. To this remark of the duke, Henry adds to Wolsey, 'on trust whereon we will that you begin to pen the residue of the articles as soon as you can.' ib.

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alliance was soon fully settled. Louis, tho elderly, became eager for the marriage [101] both from passion and policy [102]. The lovely bride was affianced in August [103]; sent to France in September, with a stately train, including Ann Boleyn then a child [104]; received by her infirm husband with a joy that others sneered at [105]; was married in October, amid much popular acclamation [106]; was crowned and entered Paris in state in November [107]; and within a few hours after the last day of the ensuing month found herself a widowed queen [108]. Louis, during the justs on his coronation, had been so feeble as to lay on

[101] The British Museum contains Louis's original letter to Wolsey, dated 2 September 1514, desiring that his queen may be sent over without delay. The duke of Orleans wrote in August, to inform her how much her affianced husband desired to see her, and again in September, requesting that she would hasten her journey. These are, as Mr. H. Ellis has remarked, in the MS. Calig. D. 6. p. 137. 140-2.

[102] The Bayard Memoirs intimate, 'he had no great need of being married, for many reasons, and therefore did not much wish it, but seeing himself with war on all sides, and that he could not sustain it without greatly oppressing his people, he imitated the pelican, and sacrificed himself.'

[103] Louise Journ. 417. [104] 1 Ellis Orig. Lett. p. 115.

[105] Louise thus notes in her diary, '22 Sept. 1514: Le Roy Louis 12. fort antique et debile sortit de Paris pour aller au devant de sa jeune femme, la reine Marie.' p. 418. And '9 October, furent les amoureuses noces de Louis et de Marie.' ib.

[106] Fleuranges describes the rejoicings, and good naturedly adds, 'Toutes fois c'étoit un gentil prince—et fût dommage quand cette maladie de goutte l'assaillit, car il n'étoit pas viel homme.' p. 164.

[107] Fleur. 164. Of the pageant prepared for her entry into Paris, there is a beautifully illuminated MS. in the British Museum. Vesp. D. 2. And for a French song on her, see 1 Ellis, 119.

[108] Louisa writes, '1 Jan. 1515, my son became king of France. About 11 at night, Louis XII. had died at Paris.' p. 420: The Bayard Memoirs state, that besides six weeks banquets, and justs and indulgences, he had changed his way of living to please his new wife. 'He used *to dine* at eight, but then made it twelve; and to go to bed at six, but then sat up till midnight. He died at 56. He was un bon prince; sage et vertueux.' After his death he was called, 'Père du peuple.' 162. He was the prince who nobly said, on acceding to the crown, 'It is not for the king of France to revenge the injuries of the duke of Orleans.' M. Bellay, 40.

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a couch for weakness [109]; yet four days only before his death, he wrote to Henry expressing his satisfaction at his marriage [110]. His political jealousy had sent back almost all his queen's accompanying household [111]; and his unexpected demise before any issue resulted from his nuptials, occasioned his kinsman, Francis I. to become the possessor of his throne.

[109] Hall 572. [110] It is in the MS. Calig. D. 6. p. 146.

[111] Her letters, complaining that on the morning after her marriage, her chamberlain and all other men servants had been discharged, also the lady whom she calls 'my mother Guldeford, with others my women and maidens, except such as never had experience nor knowlege how to advertise or give me counsel in time of need,' are printed by Mr. H. Ellis, in his interesting collection. vol. i. p. 116–8.

Fleuranges calls this princess a 'little dame.' Francis, to him, affected to rejoice at the king's marriage, tho a son from it would have deprived him of the crown; but he added, that he was sure that this would not occur. He took every precaution. His wife never left her apartments, and madame d'Aumont slept in her chamber, p. 165. 'It is the custom for the queen of France, when the king dies, to lie six weeks in bed without any light but that of a candle.' Mesdames Revers and D'Aumont were daily with the young widow, and she had her state as great as when the king lived, for about three weeks or a month. Francis then asked her, if he might call himself king. She said he might, for she knew no other, and none would come from her to prevent it. Fleur. 170. Wolsey wrote to advise her not to engage himself for any second nuptials. She answered on 10 January 1515, 'I trust, the king my brother and you will not reckon me in such childhood.' 14 January Henry wrote to the French government, that he had sent the duke of Suffolk for her. Gal. B. 3. p. 227. Francis had been struck with her, but was advised to take no risk of giving himself a master. Henault. Abr. 366. Having received intimations from Henry that Suffolk was paying her attentions, he warned the duke to act so as to have his sovereign's approbation. Suffolk answered, 'Cut off my head if I do any thing contrary to your honor or the will of my master.' Yet a few days after was reported to have been privately married to her. Francis rebuked his breach of promise, but undertook to intercede in his favor with Henry, and was supposed to have favored the nuptials, that she might not be made the instrument of some great alliance to his prejudice elsewhere. Fleur. 172. The marriage was kept awhile secret. On 6 March, Mary wrote to her brother to send for her, 'that I may shortly see your grace, which is the thing that I most desire in this world.' 1 Ellis, 122. Her letters to him, on his learning what she had done, are in the British Museum, (MS. Cal. D. 6.) but much injured by fire. Mr. Ellis has given an extract from one, 'To my heartiest discomfort, sorrow and disconsolation, but lately I have been advertised of the great and high displeasure

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which your highness beareth to me and my lord of Suffolk, for the marriage between us. I will not in any wise deny but that I have offended your grace, for the which I do put myself most humbly in your clemency and mercy.' p. 123. They were publicly married at Calais on their return. On 9 September, she wrote from her husband's seat at Lethering, that earnest and affectionate letter of thanks to Henry, for his reconciliation with her and Suffolk, which Mr. Ellis has printed, 123–5. No brother could act more kindly than the king, on an event so trying to his pride, and so interceptive of his future politics; as her hand would have been an object of great interest to many princes in Europe.

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CHAP. VI.

BATTLE OF FLODDEN—CORONATION OF FRANCIS I.—HIS EXPEDITION TO ITALY—HIS VICTORY AT MARIGNAN—MAXIMILIAN'S OFFER OF THE EMPIRE TO HENRY—THE PRETENDER POLE—FURTHER CAMPAIGN IN ITALY—MAXIMILIAN'S DEATH.

CHAP. VI.

AS Henry was commencing the siege of Tournay, the express arrived from the queen, that the king of Scotland had invaded England, and been defeated with great slaughter. Six days afterwards, the full details were received in the camp: that on the 9th September, the earl of Surrey had encountered James IV. in Flodden field; that the king had fallen in the battle with his most distinguished nobles and knights, and ten thousand men; and that all their cannon and camps had been taken. The courier brought with him a part of the dress of the unfortunate prince, who had fallen[1] a victim to his compliance with the policy and request of Louis, to arrest the progress of Henry in France, by an expedition against his northern counties[2]. Before Henry

[1] Tayler MSS. p. 87, 88. The news was received at Tournay on 15th September; a rapid communication for those times. The king had a tent of gold and purple erected in the middle of the plain, in which Te Deum was solemnly and 'suavissime' chanted. ib. Hall enumerates among the slain, an archbishop, three bishops, twelve earls and fourteen lords, with 12,000 soldiers, and 15,000 taken. p. 563. The king's body was found with several wounds, one of which was from an arrow, another from a bill. p. 564.

[2] The diplomatic pretexts of the Scottish administration need not be detailed, as the purpose of the invasion was to make a diversion in favor

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left Picardy, he heard that the king's son, his own nephew, had been crowned[3].

Henry had left the regency of England with his queen, when he embarked for France, and her letters show an anxious feeling for his safety[4], and an attention to the duties with which he intrusted her. The Scottish invasion rather pleased the English, and she was zealous in providing the means of opposing it[5]. When James crossed the Tweed at the head of fifty thousand men, earl Surrey advanced with the English forces, and offered to meet in battle on the 9th of September[6]. James assented to the combat, with all the hopes of high courage; but wisely exerted his military judgment in moving to a stronger position[7].

To Surrey's last letter[8] of the 7th of September,

of France. The antient detail may be seen in Hall, p. 555–562. And a modern account, with a favorable coloring for Scotland, in Pinkerton's History, v. 2. book 11.

[3] Tayler MSS. p. 87, 88.

[4] To Wolsey, on 13th August, she writes of the king, 'with his life and health, there is nothing in the world that shall come amiss; and without that, I can see no manner good thing shall fall after it.' 1 Ellis, 83.

[5] Her words are, 'all his subjects be very glad to be busy with the Scots; for they take it for a pastime. My heart is very good to it; and I am horrible busy with making standards, banners and badges. Every thing here shall go very well.' Ellis, p. 83.

[6] From Surrey's letter we learn, that James 'took pleasure to hear' his letter of challenge. 'And by your herald, ye made answer, that you were right joyous of my desire, and would not fail to accomplish the same.' 1 Ellis. Orig. Lett. 86.

[7] Surrey noticed this to him. 'It hath pleased you to put yourself into a ground more like a fortress or camp, that upon any indifferent ground for battle to be tried.' ib. Hall thus describes it; 'On the one side of an high mountain, called Flodden, on the edge of Cheviot, where there was but one narrow field for any man to ascend up to him; and at the foot of the hill lay all his ordnance. On the one side of his army was a great marsh, and compassed with the hills of Cheviot, so that he lay too strong to be approached of any side.' p. 560.

[8] Mr. Ellis has printed it in his collection. It is signed by many of Surrey's chief officers. p. 87.

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urging him to keep his promise, the king returned the verbal answer, by a servitor to the herald, whom he would not admit into his presence, that it beseemed not an earl after that manner to handle a king, but that he would use no sorcery, and did not place his trust in his ground[9]. The English general divided his forces into two parts, with wings. To lord Howard, his son, he consigned the vanguard, with his other son, sir Edmond, leading its right wing. The rear division he reserved for himself[10]. They began their movements, by both passing the Tyll, near its confluence with the Tweed, in two points, at Twysell bridge and Milford, to place themselves between the Scottish army and Scotland, and to give the battle on Flodden hill: the earl saying to his captains, "Now good fellows! do like Englishmen this day[11]." They had taken no food that day, but went on fasting; for two days before, they had drunk only water, and could scarcely get any other sustenance[12]. The Scottish camp was abundantly provisioned[13].

Battle of Flodden Field, 9 Sept. 1513.

Not aware that Surrey was marching to turn his

[9] Mr. Galt has reprinted in the appendix to his Life of Wolsey, a valuable ancient and apparently contemporary narrative of this battle. ib. p. 333, 4. It was printed by Richard Faques, St. Paul's churchyard, 338.

[10] Hall, 561. Herbert puts the comparative number as 26,000 English, and 60,000 Scots. p. 12. Mr. Galt's Narrative makes the same number of the former; but the Scots as '100,000 men at least.' Buchanan agrees in the amount of Surrey's force, but diminishes his countrymen to an inferior number. L. 13. s. 37. Pinkerton admits that James began his march with 100,000; but states, that it melted away to 30,000 men. p. 95–98.

[11] Hall, 561. Pinkerton remarks, that of this battle 'the best account is to be found in Hall.' p. 102.

[12] 'In the said field was plenty of wine, beer, ale, beef, mutton, salt fish, and other victuals, necessary and convenient for such a great army.' Galt's Narr. 337.

[13] Hall, 561.

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rear, and to prevent his retreat, in case of discomfiture, the king of Scotland was misled to believe, that he was passing him to enter his dominions, and lay waste the fertile marches. He descended immediately from his unassailable position, setting fire to his lumber, in order to occupy a neighboring hill before the English reached it. The smoke passed profusely between both armies, and hid them from each other; but each marched steadily on. The Scots keeping the height of the hill on the edge of the Cheviot, and the English passing in the low ground, within a quarter of a mile of each other. As the latter crossed the little brook Sandyford, the air became clear, and lord Howard beheld four dense battalions of the Scots, all infantry, with long spears, like Moorish pikes, part of whom advanced firmly against him. He sent word to his father, that he would meet the attack, but was not strong enough to bear the whole encounter[14]. His advance was led by sir Edmond on the west, on whom the chamberlain of Scotland, with ten thousand of his countrymen, rushed with a fierce determination[15]. Their onset was so destructive, that sir Edmond was soon left nearly alone; his Cheshire ranks broke and fled; his standard and its bearer were beaten down and hewn in pieces. He was himself thrice struck to the ground, but being hardy, young and lusty, he recovered again, and fought hand to hand with sir David Horne till he slew him. He must have

[14] Hall, 562.

[15] Galt's Narrative, 334, 5. His friend John Heron, tho much wounded, came to him in his danger, with this address; 'There never was nobleman's son so like to be lost as you be this day; but for all my hurts, I will here live and die with you.' Hall, 562.

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perished if the division of lord Dacres had not arrived to his rescue [16].

Surrey seeing the Scots ready to descend their hill, pushed forward his main body, and brought it on equal ground with his opponents. The English extended their lines from east to west, with their backs to the north. The Scots stood before them in the south on Bramston hill [17]. James had arranged his army into three large battalions. The first had assaulted sir Edmond; the second directed its attack against the rest of the English van, under lord Howard, on the east; and the third, headed by the king himself, with all the bravery of the bravest in the field, charged impetuously on Surrey [18]. The earl had anticipated the attack, by beginning the battle with his artillery. It was so superior to their adversaries, that the master gunner of Scotland fell, and all his men were driven from their ordnance. This made the king more eager to join in closer battle. All the nobility and force of the Scotch, with many bishops, came down for this purpose. They stood undaunted the perilous discharge of arrows which annoyed them sorely; but when they got within the range of the shot, the battle became deadly; none spared the other; the king fought valiantly [19]. The Scots were determined to win the field or to die. They were so resolute to abide the battle to its extremity and not to flee, that they put away their horses, and took off their boots and shoes, and fought in their hosen every man for the most

[16] Hall, 561.
[17] Galt's Narr. 335.
[18] Hall, 562.
[19] Galt's Narr. 337.

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part with a spear five yards long and a target before him[20]: a Spartan phalanx, imitated at this period also by the Switzers. When their spears failed, they drew and manfully used their great and sharp swords, in stern and deathful silence, except an occasional cry of mercy from those who wished to have quarter, which few desired or received[21]. Not many perished from arrows; but the English bills or battle axes, hewed them down with unsparing strength and terrible resolution. Their hills at first had given them an advantage, and the great wind and sudden rain that came on, were unfavorable to the English bowmen[22]; but no courage or exertions could prevent the issue of the destructive conflict, which after lasting from four o'clock in the afternoon till night was far advanced, ended in a defeat more calamitous than Scotland had ever lamented before. The king who had combated with "a noble and triumphant courage[23]," which claims the praise of those who love martial daring, with all its horrors and evils,—the flower of her nobility and gentry, and twelve thousand of her bravest soldiers were found dead on the field[24], and all their cannon, baggage

[20] Galt's Narr. 336.

[21] 'None spared other,' Hall. 'Yet some Scottish prisoners might have been taken, but they were so vengeable and cruel in their fighting, that when Englishmen had the better of them, they would not save them, tho divers Scots offered great sums of money for their lives.' Galt, 336.

[22] Galt, 337. The last part of the conflict was a successful onset of sir Edward Stanley, on the fourth battalion of the Scots, as it was preparing to relieve the king. Galt, 335. He climbed with his troops up the hill unperceived, and attacked before his approach was known. Hall, 562.

[23] Hall, 562.

[24] 'Of the king's own battalion, none escaped but his chancellor, sir William Scot, and his serjeant porter, sir John Foreman, which were

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and standards were taken [25]. Their disaster seems to have arisen from the unusual generalship of Surrey turning their strong position in its rear; from their own too hasty abandonment of it; from the superior power and ability of the English artillery and its directors; and from the more effective weapons of their adversaries, in the bodily conflict; perhaps in part also from that combination of strength and dexterity of arm and eye, and calm persevering bravery, which distinguished the English soldiery [26]. But the

with great difficulty saved.' Hall, 562. Pinkerton remarks, that in the tablet on Surrey's monument, the number of Scots slain, is made 17,000. Polydore Virgil has 10,000, which Pinkerton adopts as a middle between the diminutions of the Scots and the exaggerations of the English. p. 104. Buchanan lessens it to above 5,000. s. 38.

[25] The loss of the English was but 1,200 men. Galt, 336. Polydore mentions 5,000. The Scots would no more believe that their king had fallen in the battle than the Britons that Arthur had been killed at Camlan; or the Burgundians, that their last duke Charles had been slain. And Buchanan declares, that one Telfair, a man 'probo et docto,' who had seen the battle, more than once assured him, that as it became lost, he had seen James crossing the Tweed on horseback, in flight; and many affirmed for years, that he was only gone upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem!! Hist. Scot. L. 13. s. 41.

[26] Queen Catherine, in her letter to Henry, assured him in her joy, 'that the victory was more honor than if he should win all the crown of France,' 1 Ellis, p. 88. A high compliment to Scotland. We learn from Skelton, that notwithstanding this severe defeat, our northern countrymen claimed the victory.

Lo, these fond Scots,
And tratling Scots;
How they are blind
In their own mind:
And will not know,
Their overthrow
At Branxston moor!
They are so stour:
So frantic mad;
They say they had,
And won the field
With spear and shield.
At Floddon hills
Our bows, our bills,
Slew all the flower
Of their honour.
Are not these Scots
—Fools and sots,

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completeness of the victory conferred this benefit on both countries, from its result, that it established so evidently the greater military advantages of England, as to make future wars less probable and less popular. By lessening alarm on one side, and expectation on the other, it took away from both, two great incentives to national hostilities [27].

The young kings in Europe.

An age of young monarchs was now destined to arise in Europe. The Salic law, excluding the daughters of Louis XII. from his throne, Francis [28] ascended it in his twenty-first year [29]. Charles V.

Such boast to make,
To prate and crake?
To face, to brace
All void of grace?
So proud of heart!

He asks

Won they the field, and lost their king?
They may well say—Fie on that winning.
Skelt. Poems, p. 261.

[27] As James was under a papal excommunication when he fell, the clergy would not bury him without the papal sanction. Rymer has printed the brief of Leo X. dated 29th November, permitting Henry to bury him on an allegation, which we may suppose to have been fictitious; that James, before he died, 'remembering his errors, had given some sign of penitence;' and therefore empowering the bishop of London to *absolve* him from all excommunication, before his body was buried, that it might be interred in a sacred place. v. 13. p. 385.

[28] His mother Louise dates his birth 12th September 1494. Journ. p. 410. It is delightful to read the effusion of her maternal affection on his seventh year. '25th January 1501, about two o'clock in the afternoon, my king, my lord, my Cæsar, and my son, was carried away by his horse over the fields near Amboise. The danger was so great, that those who were present thought it to be inevitable; but God, the protector of the widow, and the defender of the orphan, would not abandon me, knowing that if this sudden accident had deprived me of my love, I should have been too unfortunate.' p. 411. She had lost her husband before Francis was two years old. She records with great anxiety the progress of her son's illness, thro a tertian fever, in the summer of 1511. ib. p. 413.

[29] Louise thus again writes with the pen of the heart: 'My son was consecrated in the church at Rheims; for this I am obliged and bound to the divine mercy. It has amply recompensed me for all the adversities and inconveniences which occurred to me in my first years and in the flower of my youth; but humility always kept me company, and patience never abandoned me.' Journ. p. 420.

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within a twelvemonth afterwards, became king of Spain at the age of sixteen, and emperor of Germany at nineteen. The king of Scotland was an infant; and Henry, the oldest, was yet but twenty-four. The peace of the world and the stability of the settled states were never in greater peril, so far as they depended on young power and young sensibilities, without experience themselves, and with ears very unwilling to receive its admonitions from others: and yet so admirably were all their irritabilities and ambitions counteracted by the circumstances which pursued them, that fretful agitations, disappointed projects, and endless negociations, without either mighty wars or revolutionizing conquests, were the chief events that occurred. A few fruitless battles now and then took place in Italy, animating rather then disquieting the social mind, and in which victory changed her sides like the winds of Heaven, only to bring back the tide of things to the point from which she had unsettled it, and to prove to common sense the uselessness of warfare. But the great body of Europe was unaffected by these partial vicissitudes; and the first half of the sixteenth century was an interval of great prosperity and improvement to the general population. The prevailing aspect was that of harmony and happiness; and literature, knowlege, moral reasoning and the civilizing virtues spread around with the wings of emulation, and with all the delighting energies of a new-born creation.

Francis I. invades Italy.

Francis was crowned before the end of January 1515; and, eager to regain the Italian conquests of his predecessor; incited to attempt it by their rest-

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less populace; and wishing to distinguish himself in that path of fame which mankind admire while they blame, began immediately to prepare secretly an army to pass the Alps into Lombardy, while Ferdinand was tranquil, Charles, who ruled Flanders, young, and Henry friendly[30]. His first object was to wrest the Milanese from its Italian duke; and the Venetians engaged to aid him to obtain it, for which he was to co-operate in recovering for them the cities of which Maximilian had curtailed them[31]. Waiting only to confirm his friendly relations with England and Spain[32], and appointing his mother Louise the regent of his kingdom in his absence, he advanced from Lyons by Grenoble to the Alps. Henry, ascertaining his movement, sent an envoy to exhort him not to disturb the peace of Christendom by passing into Italy[33]. But no verbal opposition could now deter him. The adversaries with whom he went to contend were the pope, and Sforza, duke of Milan; neither competent by their union alone to withstand him. But their money, to which Ferdinand was supposed to contribute, procured from

[30] Mem. Bay. 365. The courtly knight Fleuranges thus describes the feelings of Francis and his own. 'Young, rich and powerful, et de gentil cœur; surrounded by persons who did not dissuade him from war, which is the most noble exercise that a prince or a gentleman can have, when it is a good quarrel; and urged by the districts that were for him in Italy, he collected his armies,' &c. p. 176. This eager soldier invented a new piece of artillery, not above two feet long, yet shooting 50 bullets at once, and had 300 of them made at Lyons, which the king took with him on mules. 178.

[31] Bellay, 43. A treaty was now agitated to marry Charles to madame Renée, a daughter of Louis XII. ib.

[32] In April 1515, the treaties were renewed between the French and English governments. 13 Rym. 473-494. Ferdinand only promised to be neuter. The duc de Bourbon, who was destined to become the author of the greatest events that the century witnessed, was now made constable of France. Mem. Bayard, 365.

[33] Guicciard. L. 12. p. 65.

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the ever-purchaseable Swiss an effective army, which strictly guarded the known mountain-passes, while Leo's general, Prosper Colonna, lodged himself at their foot with fifteen hundred cavalry, to move wherever wanted[34]. There were at that time two roads over the Alps: that of Mount Cenis, the shortest and most used, and a longer one from Grenoble over Mount Genura; both led to the plain of Susa. To attempt to force these would be a vain exertion. The Swiss, although their army were hired, were faithful in battle, and would here combat at their assigned posts till they perished[35]. But no precautions can preclude an able and resolute invader. Some guides revealed to Francis a track among the clefts, which had been always inaccessible to carriages, and was therefore neither thought of nor watched[36]. Trivulci examined it, and declared that skill and labor might make it practicable. The possibility excited hope and effort. But when they attempted to form the passage, the difficulties appeared less surmountable than had been reported. The vacant spaces would not admit their mounted cannon, till the axes of the pioneers broke down the rocks before them. The way was over rugged and high mountains. Hills and protrusions of earth were to be digged up, and when they had gained the summit, similar labor was required to make a descent, while the frightful chasms full before their sight, declining into the deep vallies of the Argentiero, alarmed and often destroyed both the workers and the soldiers. In many places the

[34] Fleur. 180-3.
[35] Guicciard. p. 66.
[36] Mem. Tremouille, 22. Du Bellay, 49.

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animals could not be used or trusted. They had to dismount the artillery, fasten them to great cables, and, by the hands of the infantry, let them down or drag them forward[37]. But five days accomplished their object: they descended to Rosques Parviere, near Saluce, and their exertions were rewarded by the surprise of Colonna at his dinner, in Villefranche, with all his force, by the rapid attack and instantaneous pursuit of the advanced guard[38]. As the whole army followed, the Swiss, who had been forced, from want of horses, to draw their cannon by their own necks, to their watching posts, found that to avoid being surrounded they had no choice but to retire. They evacuated the Alps with a speed that made their renewed toil more painful, and withdrew thro Coni to Milan, while Francis passed speedily to Turin[39].

These events deranged the previous plans of the pope and his allies. He had procured for his brother Julian the cities of Modena, Reggio, Parma and Placentia; but had fixed his policy not to let a foreign power command the Milanese. But Julian was now ill of a fever, and Francis was advancing in formidable power. There was no hope but to

[37] Guicciard. L. 12. p. 66, 7. He dates the passage about the 10th August. Prosper Colonna was taken on the 15th; from his high reputation, his capture was of great importance. ib. The French force was 45,500. ib. 63.

[38] The Memoirs of Bayard detail most fully the circumstances of his capture, 367–373. The bon chevalier's consolation to him on his surrender was, 'Signor Prospero! 'tis the fortune of war; one day we lose, another we win.' p. 372. His rapid capture depended on so small a circumstance, as an archer pursuing the retiring troops into the town of Villefranche so venturously, and so closely, that as they shut the gates, he pushed his lance between them, and kept them from shutting, till troops arrived sufficient to force them open. Fleur. 183. Bellay, 51.

[39] Bellay, 51-3.

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gain time by negociation, and he despatched a secret envoy to try the impressibility of the French king's mind[40]. The wiser cardinals advised Leo to an immediate agreement with Francis on the best terms he could procure; but others prevailing on him to avoid all pacification, he resolved to abide the impending issues of war[41]. CHAP. VI.

There was no prospect of obstructing the progress of Francis but by the Swiss forces. They were sturdy, well disciplined, and sufficiently numerous; yet, fighting never for a favorite cause, but only for a livelihood, they cared little for which side they were engaged, and Francis hoped either to neutralize them or to procure their alliance. He might have succeeded, but that the cardinal de Sion, the determined enemy of the French, persuaded them that the king had divided his army, and might be surprised, and that the booty would be enriching.

On this intelligence they formed a scheme of bursting suddenly upon him in three divisions[42]. Their intentions were penetrated by his spies, and he prepared for a desperate encounter: he received knighthood from the chevalier du Bayard, and placed his vanguard under the command of the duc de Bourbon in his fortified camp. It was this division which the Swiss attacked impetuously with their dense columns, and it was fortunate for the king that the ablest soldier of his day had to meet their shock. The French lasquenets gave way; the

Battle of Marignan, 13 Sept. 1515.

[40] Guicc. L: 12. p. 69. [41] Ib.

[42] M. du Bellay, 57. To ensure a surprise, the Swiss carried for their banner a white cross, like the French, and left their drums behind them, taking only cornets for rallying. ib. 58.

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Swiss got possession of part of the cannon[43]; but the gendarmerie that next presented themselves, and who had to obliterate their disgrace at the battle of Spurs, sustained the charge with a firmness that rallied the others, and the king coming up with his black-bannered battalions and artillery, the Swiss were driven back[44]; and the battle was continued with equal obstinacy on both sides, both suffering, but neither forbearing, tho the shades of evening came upon them. The moon arose on the scene of destruction as the darkness began to spread; and as her presence, the soothing emblem of peace and mildness, illumined the horizon, they continued the furious conflict, heedless of fatigue or death. It had frequently fluctuated: many French captains fell: the gendarmerie began to faint, and the king was wounded by a pike[45], when the departing luminary leaving them involved in night, compelled a pause. The last charge made by the duc de Bourbon, supported by artillery, drove the main body of the Swiss thro a pass which they had gained, and placed a ditch between the combatants; but so unreceding was the obstinacy of both, that in many parts the Swiss and French slept, exhausted, on the bloody ground, intermixed with each other[46]. They had

[43] Du Bellay, 58. Guicciard. L. 12. p. 85. Francis says, in his letter to his mother, written on the field of battle, printed by Laval, in his Desseins et Professions Nobles, 'I assure you it was not possible for them to come on with greater fury, nor more ardently.' Mem. 17. p. 444.

[44] Du Bellay. 58. This division carried black ensigns, announcing death to their enemies. Guicc. 85. Francis adds, in his letter, that such a dust arose, that they could hardly see each other; that some disorder ensued, but that he charged on the flank of those engaged with such effect, that the 200 men at arms who followed him forced backwards 4,000 Swiss, which gave some breath to his people. p. 444.

[45] Guicc. 16. [46] Du Bellay, 58.

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fought till their weapons dropped from their wearied hands. They paused from mutual consent till day returned, without any signal from their officers[47]. Francis could hardly obtain a little clear water for his refreshment, as every stream was polluted with human gore. He found no other bed than a gun carriage, and taking off only his helmet, lay on it in the open air in his harness, to obtain a brief repose[48]. Altho the horrors around him were entirely of his own production, from no necessity and for no justifiable cause; and altho he knew they would be renewed in their fiercest shape on the morrow, to the misery of thousands, and with the yet undecided chance of his own destruction; yet he slept so soundly on his wooden couch, that it was necessary to wake him when the hour for the resumed battle drew near[49]. This may have been heroism, but it was also moral insensibility. It was the spirit of producing evil, with the delusion not to think it such. Fatigue was oppressing others, but he was the cause of the universal suffering—of throwing human nature into its most malignant state, that he might add Milan to a kingdom already too extensive for its own tranquillity. But he partook

[47] Guicc. 86. Francis mentions, that his cavalry remained all night 'le cul sur la selle, la lance au point, l'armet a la tête et nos lasquenets en ordre pour combattre,' that they might not be surprised again. p. 446.

[48] Mem. Tremouille, 204. Du. Bellay, 58. The letter of Francis states, that of the Swiss there were 8,000, who attacked in three divisions, and that it was midnight before the moon disappeared.

[49] St. Gelais' contemporary account is, 'About an hour before day the master of the artillery called up Bois-rené, a gentleman of the household, and said, 'It is time the king should be stirring, for the dawn is fast approaching.' Bois-rené went and waked his master; he rose immediately, put on his helmet, mounted his horse, and went to inspect all the arrangements for the battle.' Hist. Francis, added to Louis XII. p. 426.

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largely of the prepossession which has been so fatal to mankind, and is yet so cherished; that ambition is virtue, and fame a human paradise: and that warlike renown was a princely distinction. He lived to feel most exquisitely the folly of these dreams of perverted fancy, and the misery of seeking to realize them.

The hour before day-break was employed by the king in consulting with his officers, and surveying the position of his enemies. He saw the bulk of their force warming themselves round a vast fire; and carefully remarking the avenues by which they must again advance upon him, he planted his artillery at every spot of approach[50]. The French had taken no refreshment, for they had none; but the cardinal of Sion was active in sending out from Milan, whatever was necessary to recruit the Swiss[51]. This interval of conflict was not spent by them so profitably as by Francis. They yet despised their opponents too heartily to doubt a triumphant victory, and expected to force it by the strength and vigor of their attacks. But Francis and Bourbon had made the wisest dispositions to receive them; and altho as soon as the light permitted, the combined force of the Italians and Switzers, in number thirty-five thousand, assailed the camp in various points, more furiously and desperately than before[52]; yet they found themselves battered both in front and on their flanks, with the French artillery and cross-

[50] St. Gelais. p. 426.

[51] Guicciard. L. 12. p. 85.

[52] Bellay remarks, 'I saw one of the principal battalions of our lansquenets give way above 100 paces. One Swiss passed all our array, and put his hand on the king's artillery.' p. 58.

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bows, and with repeated charges of the horse[53]. Rage at these obstructions, made their efforts but more desperate, and the conflict more destructive. At one time they got possession of the French guns, and to shake the French order, they sent a division to attack its baggage and rear[54]. A multiplication of confusion and slaughter made the scene more dismal, without either receding; when Alviano, who had been marching all night with the Venetian cavalry, arrived at the period when the French were in the greatest difficulties and most imminent danger, and charged suddenly upon the backs of the Swiss battalions[55]. For eight hours their artillery had been active in destruction, as well as the French cannon, but their leaders now perceived that the victory was unattainable, and while their desperate firmness yet kept them from confusion, sounded the trumpets for retreat. Murmuring, they obeyed: took upon their shoulders such portable artillery as they had brought with them, and forming themselves into steady ranks, the surviving companies withdrew, in their accustomed order and surly fortitude, to Milan[56]. The combat had been so determined, that an experienced French commander said it had been fought by giants rather than men, and that the eighteen battles in which he had before been engaged, were comparatively those of children[57]. The superiority of the French engineers, and the arrival of Alviano at the most critical emergency of the struggle, gave the triumph to the French king. He had been often in the greatest danger, and frequently

[53] Guicc. L. 412. p. 86.
[54] Bellay, 59.
[55] Guicc. ib. Bellay, 59-61.
[56] Guicc. ib.
[57] Guicc. p. 87.

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separated from his people. It was generally felt that the persevering valor of the French gendarmerie had saved their army; and their sovereign admitted that they had now removed from their name the sarcasm which had branded it[58]. The French loss was great[59]; but of the vanquished, one-third of their number perished in and about the camp[60]. Francis, satisfied with the hard-earned triumph and escape, attempted no pursuit: the skill of adequately profiting from a victory is a rarer talent than that of gaining it[61]. In the present instance, however, the delay was no injury: the Swiss, fighting for money, having failed, had no appetite for blows without profit. Leo was not a warrior, like his predecessor Julius; the ever-doubting and easily intimidated Maximilian, forbore all competition; and Francis

[58] Francis writes to his mother: 'It must no longer be said, that the gendarmes are hares in armor; for it was they who did the chief execution. A fiercer battle has not been seen for these 2,000 years. It lasted from three in the afternoon of yesterday till two o'clock to-day, without knowing which would win or lose. There have been thirty charges made.' He praises highly the service of his artillery. He had been twenty-eight hours armed on horseback, without eating or drinking. 446-9.

[59] The Compte de Guise would have been killed, if his esquire, seeing the pike and halberd pointed for his destruction, had not rushed in, and by receiving their fatal blows, saved his master. Bellay, p. 59. Tremouille's son, the prince de Valmont, perished. 'The father heard, and covered his face; but the eyes, which obey the heart more than any other part of the body, could not conceal his agitation.' Mem. 207. These memoirs were first published in 1525, the year that Tremouille died.

[60] Guicc. ib. Bellay, ib. Louise's note of this battle is: '13 Sept. 1515, my son defeated the Swiss near Milan. I went to Amboise to go on foot to our Lady de Fontaines, to recommend to her what I love more than myself, and that is, my glorious son, and triumphant Cæsar, the conqueror of the Helvetians.' p. 421.

[61] It is the Mem. Bayard, which makes the remark, 'Francis did not pursue them; if he had, not one would have escaped.' p. 382. Guicciardini mentions that of the French, neither horsemen nor footmen ventured to follow them. p. 489. Brantome remarks, that the duc de Bourbon in this battle, 'fit divinement bien.' Disc. 20. p. 244.

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found, when he least expected it, that the contested country was quietly abandoned to his wishes. The battle had another result from which many consequences flowed. It removed the impression of the superiority of the Swiss infantry, and, by diminishing the value of their services, lessened the market for their blood, and led other nations to create and to rely upon a soldiery of their own[62].

The surrender of Milan, and the command of the north of Italy, followed this great success. The pope had no choice but that of temporary submission[63]. He met Francis at Bologna, with the greatest courtesy and humiliation[64], and forced to sacrifice his brother, whom he had aimed to exalt into an Italian potentate, Leo consented reluctantly to resign Parma and Placentia to the French king; and Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, whom he hated and wished to despoil; gave Francis hopes of Naples, on Ferdinand's death, and joined in a solicitation to the emperor to concede Brescia

[62] Louis XI. had begun the custom of employing the Swiss by engaging 6,000 in his service. Charles VIII. and Louis XII. hired much larger numbers. The national French infantry were first formed into an effective force under Francis I.

[63] Du Bellay, 66. Guicc. L. 12. p. 99, 100. Francis having in vain interceded for its duke, promised Leo to assist him in taking Urbino. ib. He also gained from the pope a concordat, allowing him the nomination to the prelacies of his kingdom; the persons were to be presented to the pope, but he was to approve of them. De Thou, v. 1. p. 21.

[64] Fleuranges, who accompanied Francis, mentions that the pope sent forward above thirty cardinals to greet him with all possible honors. The king entered Bologna with 1,200 men at arms, and 6,000 lansquenets for his guard. The pope received him on his seat; but instead of suffering Francis to kiss his feet as usual, rose and embraced him. He adds: 'The pope, Leo X, had the mien of being a very honest, worthy man. He was very fearful, did not see clearly and was fond of music. He sang mass next day in great pomp and triumph, all the French princes assisting him. He gave the king a beautiful *true* cross a foot long, to be carried in procession on the anniversary of the late battle. They took their meals mostly together; were often closeted; and after eight days, parted with mutual promises of peace and friendship. Mem. Fleur. p. 214–6.

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and Verona to the Venetians. The king having also covenanted for some compensations to Sforza, from whom he had wrested the Milanese[65], returned in triumph to meet his happy mother, at Lyons, and to receive the transported congratulations of his subjects, for a victory by which every Frenchman felt himself personally exalted. The additional success was to buy off the Switzers from his adversaries, and to take his pay and employment[66]. It is one of the disagreeable pictures of human nature, that this nation, from the most sordid principles, were accustomed at this period to let themselves out by thousands, like the common bravoes of Europe, to kill and be killed for any power that had money to hire their arms and lives. But their cantons were then the general market for this legitimated species of cool and deliberate human slaughter—at times the pope; at times the emperor; the French, the Spaniards, or some Italian prince, engaged them: no other object was professed or pretended to but money and plunder; and by their habit of withdrawing whenever their pay was not regularly supplied, they occasioned the proverb, 'point d'argent, point de Suisse[67].'

[65] Francis was to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, and benefices of the annual value of 30,000 crowns, and to give him 80,000 immediately. M. Lambert published this treaty, dated 14th October 1515, at the end of his Du Bellay.

[66] Guicc. L. 12. p. 505.

[67] A gross instance of this preceded the battle of Marignan. They became tumultuous at Novarra, because Ferdinand's stipulated sum had not arrived; seized what the papal officers had, and set off to return to their own country, which some greatly desired, having been three months in Italy, and being laden with money and booty, which they wished to convey home. The arrival of the Spanish coin stopped them awhile, but they soon made a pecuniary treaty with Francis, which was only broken by new bodies of their needy conntrymen arriving, who would not be bound by terms of which they were not to share the profit; yet they hesitated so much again, that it required all the cardinal de

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Various schemes were formed to deprive Francis of his Italian conquests; and for that purpose to interest Henry, as the most formidable prince in Europe, to join in zealous warfare against him. To effect this object, it was proposed from the emperor to the English ambassador Pace, that Milan should be conceded to Henry, to be united to the crown of England. Pace objected to the project, because the people were attached to the house of Sforza, and would not be satisfied under any other family; because the expense of keeping it would exceed its advantages, and it would answer better to support the right heir; and because the word of Maximilian was not to be depended upon[68]. In May 1516, the emperor repeated the proposition to sir Richard Wingfield, with the additional boon of procuring Henry to be adopted as his successor to the empire, if he would but land in Flanders with an army—pass into Germany—unite with the imperial forces in an attack on Milan—then invade France—and finally accompany Maximilian to Rome, to be declared the next emperor[69]. This wild plan, so easily executed by words and on paper, was declined; but Henry directed his ambassador to declare his thankful acceptance of the emperor's proposed adoption[70]. Henry's foreign diplomatist more wisely counselled him not to involve himself in foreign affairs to maintain the interests

Sion's eloquence to induce them to go and fight the battle of Marignan, which they did at last like faithful and sturdy bull-dogs. See Guicc. L. 12. p. 71–80.

[68] Pace wrote these particulars to Wolsey from Trent, in 1516, Fiddes states from his letter in the life of Wolsey. p. 120.

[69] On 17th May 1516, Wingfield stated these circumstances in his dispatch to the king, from the conversation of the emperor, who also remarked, with more justness, 'Neither the Swiss, nor the pope, nor the Venetians, will let me or France keep Milan.' Fiddes, ib. 122–5.

[70] Fiddes, 126.

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of other princes, as the emperor was too poor to defend himself, and Charles was as poor as his speculative grandfather[71].

But tho Henry's caution, not to be the dupe of Maximilian, kept him from any serious measures to gain this posthumous dignity, his co-operation was too important not to be obtained; and in February, in the next year, the imperial diadem was offered to him again[72]. These schemes roused Francis to a formidable counteraction. He formed, in May, a secret combination with Denmark and Scotland to make an invasion from the Baltic on England, and another from Bretagne on Scotland, in support of a pretender, while the duke of Bourbon attacked Tournay. This alarming project was communicated to the English government by its ambassador in France[73], and had probably no small share in withholding Henry from any foreign warfare.

This pretender was a son of Elizabeth, a sister of Edward IV. and who therefore represented the claims of the house of York. On this account he was familiarly designated "Blanche Rose," because he stood to the public eye as a prince of the white

[71] So Dr. Tunstall wrote to Wolsey. Fiddes, 130.

[72] We learn this fact from Dr. Tunstall's letter to Henry, dated Mechlin, 12th Feb. 1517. He says of the Cardinal of Sion, 'he shewed me that one of the secret matters was, that the emperor intendeth to resign the empire to your Grace, and to obtain your election by his procurement and soliciting of the electors thereunto, which the emperor intended to do for the advancement of your honor and the love which he beareth you.' Tunstall adds, 'I am afraid lest the said offer was only made to get thereby some money of your grace.' 1 Ellis, 135–8.

[73] Strype has printed sir Richard Jernegan's dispatch of 31st May 1516, detailing this plan, which he had just discovered through a spy at the French court. Eccl. Mem. v. 1. part. 2. p. 16–19. 'That Richard de la Pole should take shipping in Denmark, and the duke of Ulske, the king of Denmark's uncle, with a certain number of lance knights, to land in some part of England, and the duke of Albany shall take shipping in Bretagne, to go into Scotland.' ib. 17.

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rose line; hence he became a dangerous centre of union to the factions, interests, passions, and speculations, which had been formerly attached to the house of York, and to all who, from a dissatisfaction with Henry's adherence to the papal hierarchy and doctrines, were desirous of a new dynasty[74]. He made known his agitating pretensions to the courts most at variance, or in discussion with Henry, and was considered by them as an instrument that might be conveniently used to enforce against the English sovereign the demands or machinations of their politics. When France was in amity with England, he was put under custody; and then we find James IV. king of Scotland, soliciting his release[75]. He was in arms with the French troops against Henry, on his invasion of France in 1513[76]; and in 1516 and 1517, was now intended to be set up as a competitor for his crown[77] The projected in-

[74] A brief account of the chief facts that relate to him will be elucidating. Edmond earl of Suffolk the eldest son of king Edward's sister, having killed an inferior in his passion, fled to his aunt Margaret in Flanders. Pardoned by Henry VII. he returned; but involving himself in debt, he again resorted to her, with his brother Richard, and as she had stirred up so many conspiracies against the house of Tudor, Henry sent a knight to watch him; and he went to France and Germany to get aid for an invasion. Hall, 495, 6. His brother Richard being more steady and accomplished was forgiven, and made chamberlain to prince Arthur. Pol. Verg. 610. When the archduke Philip visited England, the king desired him to give up Edmond as a traitor. Hall, 501. Philip had him a prisoner at Namur, and promised to surrender him on condition that his life should be spared; which he did, and Suffolk was confined by Henry. Guicc. L. 7. p. 114. When he ceased to alarm, his brother Richard adopted his disturbing feelings and wild ambition, and returning into France, became a rallying point for discontent and rebellion against Henry.

[75] On 20th July 1512, lord Dacre wrote to Henry, that James had desired the French king to set Pole at liberty. MSS. Calig. B. 6. p. 33.

[76] Hall, 541.

[77] Francis said to him, on returning from Italy, 'Because I know your title to be good to the crown of England, I shall shortly endeavor to make such peace with the emperor, that I may be able to assist you with both men and money towards obtaining your right.' Fiddes' Wols. p. 162.

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vasion did not take place, but the plots in his favor were continued, so much to Henry's alarm, that when the French government refused to give him up, the king sent special instructions to his ambassador in France to have him seized[78], who took some measures for that purpose[79], which Henry seems not to have sanctioned[80]. In 1523 we shall find him used again to shake England with a rebellion; and he continued to be a subject of frequent jealousy and real danger to England, till he perished by the side of Francis, in the battle of Pavia.

Italy was subsiding into a general pacification, when the death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, in January 1517, who had retained Naples, inspired Francis with the ambition to add that kingdom to his other conquests[81]. This scheme generated new agitations. Maximilian roused himself out of his usual tardiness to make an exertion to dispossess him of the Milanese. He descended from the German Alps with sixteen thousand Germans and fourteen thousand Swiss, and by a speedy advance, might have driven the French into their own country.

[78] The draft of these is in MSS. Cal. D. 7.—'Calling to our remembrance, that when of late ye demanded our traitor there, naming himself Blanche Rose, it was answered by the Freuch king and his council, that he was a Frenchman born; there is good proof that the said traitor is our subject, though he were born in France, his father being an Englishman, as they have granted and confessed that he is.' p. 71. This is amid the letters of 1518, but I would date it and the following in the preceding year.

[79] On 16th November, the earl of Worcester describes to Wolsey what a person he had employed had planned, adding, 'If this man do it not, I know not here of none other that will take it upon him.' MSS. Cal. D. 7. p. 33.

[80] On 9th December he wrote again: 'I sent you, on 25th November, what and how it may be done, and otherwise I cannot see it will be done, and as yet I have had no answer of you what the king's pleasure is.' Ib. MS. p. 47.

[81] Guicc. L. 12. 506. The chief military author of Ferdinand's greatness, Gonsalvo of Cordova, died shortly after him.

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As he advanced from the Trent to the Adda, Bourbon, inferior in numerical strength, retired with the French. The emperor sought immediate battle, and made three bridges to pass the river and attack them. At one moment they resolved to confront him in the field; but not receiving a reinforcement they expected, and hoping to neutralize his Swiss by a treacherous negociation, they withdrew to Milan, and in a single night, working steadily with five thousand men, they made it defensible. The emperor followed, with the phlegmatic slowness of his temper, which gave time for fourteen thousand Swiss to join his opponents; but, in contempt of all principle, having received thirty florins of gold each man for their timely succor, within eight days half of them marched off to fulfil their engagements with the emperor. Maximilian at last reached Milan, expecting that the presence of his superior force would have occasioned its immediate evacuation. The determined countenance of a brave, tho unequal resistance, which Bourbon exhibited, alarmed him. His mistrusting mind could only account for it by a suspicion of some secret perfidy, which the conduct of the Swiss in joining him fomented. He assumed that they had a secret intelligence with their countrymen in the city, to ruin him. He fired off two cannon at the wall; and tho a resolute attack would have captured the place, he suddenly proclaimed a retreat, and in the night set off, with two hundred horse for Germany, leaving his army to shift for itself[82]. This strange desertion immediately dis-

[82] Mem. Fleur. 221–4. Du Bellay, 69–72. Guicc. L. 12. p. 507–9. On 27 May, Wolsey wrote to Pace, 'that the inaction and retreat of

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solved it. The Swiss countermarched to their own mountains; and Bourbon thus unexpectedly made the master of Italy, disbanding most of his forces, left what he retained under the command of Lautrec, and carried to France the news of his intellectual triumph [83].

Leo's heart was fixed upon acquiring Urbino; and to raise that money, which then bought the soldier-adventurers of the day, who only waited to be hired, and of whom there was always plenty if they could be paid for: the pope not only called upon Henry for succors against what he termed the enemies of the church [84], but also sent his briefs to the bishops in England, commanding them in language of importunity rising into menace, to levy an entire tenth on their clergy, to aid him against Urbino [85]. Thus supplied, he recruited his army, attacked and took this coveted city; but afterwards the ineffectual war began to languish, and peace seemed dawning upon the continent. The dangers that were advancing,

the emperor, had frustrated the whole intended design.' Fiddes, p. 125. He quotes Pace's letters, from a private library, Masters' collection, which I have not seen.

[83] Pace assured his court that the emperor's negligence had lost him the victory, but 'he promises to set forward again to Italy. I believe his words no further than his deeds confirm them.' Fiddes, 126. What a character for the first throne in Europe! Pace complains that Henry's money to the emperor was ill spent. Some of the loans to him are noticed in the dispatches, in Galba, B. 5. In p. 245, are his receipts for 10,000 and 6,000 florins, and orders, 25 May 1517, on a person at Antwerp to pay them.

[84] This letter to Henry, dated 20 June 1517, is in Rymer, 592.

[85] This urgent mandate of 24 August 1517, is sufficiently fierce. It orders them 'without any exception or excuse, 'cogere et compellere,' the payment.' It says that if they do not succeed, 'we shall be forced to believe that this will happen from your fault and negligence, and shall know that your fraternity is wanting to the duty which belongs to a good and devout *bishop* of the *apostolic see*, not without the great displeasure of our mind.' Rymer, v. 13. p. 596.

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from the Turkish power attempting to absorb Hungary, and threatening all Europe from its successes, contributed to promote the reconciliation of the bickering governments. The pope and cardinals called upon the great sovereigns to unite in a crusade [86]. Wolsey projected with Henry; proposed to the pope, and made many efforts to form an universal league of the European princes [87]; and Francis professed his willingness to engage earnestly, but not singly, in it [88]. A general combination might have been made against the crescent, if its sceptre had not suddenly descended to one who preferred his haram to a camp. This welcome enervation of a much dreaded power, allayed the alarms it had excited [89]. Another event then occurred to arrest the arm of hostility, and to give a new direction to the competition of the European princes—the death of Maximilian, unexpectedly, on 12th January 1519 [90]. His character was not only obscure, but sometimes inexplicable; he was even a literary

[86] Leo's commission for this purpose, and the letter of the college of Cardinals upon it, are in Rymer, v. 13. p. 578-605.

[87] We learn this from the letters of Cardinal de Medici, afterwards pope Clement VII. On 14 August 1518, he mentions, 'the sketch of articles for an universal league, which the prelate of York had sent to the Pope, and the corrections which his holiness had made in it.' Lett. de Principe, p. 14. He calls it the new parentado of England, and states the design to have come from the English government. p. 15. It was to unite the pope, emperor, kings of France, Spain, and England, and others, for five years. He adds, that the pope had written to all the legates, to solicit as far as possible, all the princes to make fit preparations, if not for offensive at least for defensive operations. ib.

[88] He offered to go with 40,000 foot, 3,000 men at arms, and 6,000 light infantry. Mem. Fr. v. 17. Obs. p. 458.

[89] 'Selim dying, and his successor Soliman II. being peacefully disposed, the alarm and project terminated.' De Thou, v. 1. p. 25.

[90] Margaret of Flanders, on 23 January 1519, apprized the English court of his death by the letter in MS. Galba, B. 5. p. 338.

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man[91], and yet had once a strange desire to be made a pope[92]. A vacancy being thus created in what was then the grandest dignity of the civilized world, a new drama suddenly opened upon it, full of the most important incidents, and varied by some agitating catastrophes, which gave new features and energies to our social mind, and a new character to the governments, hierarchies, systems, controversies, knowlege and reason of the world.

[91] Lord Herbert remarks, 'He sometimes got more by a bad peace than a just war. His spare time he employed in poetry; and wrote the history of his life in Dutch verse.' p. 93.

[92] This extraordinary circumstance he thus expresses in a letter to his daughter Margaret, who was then governing Flanders:

'Very dear and much beloved daughter! I received the advice which you sent me by Guillain Pingun, our garde-robbe ayées, of which we shall think of again. We find no good reason why we might not freely marry, but we have settled our deliberation, and will de jamais plus hanter femme nue. We shall send to-morrow M. de Guerec the bishop, to Rome to the pope, to find some way by which we can agree with him to take us for a coadjutor, that after his death we may be certain of having the papacy, and becoming a priest, and afterwards a saint. Then after my death, it will become a matter of necessity that you must adore me. I am beginning to treat with the cardinals, and therefore 2 or 300,000 ducats will be of great service, in addition to the partiality they already have for me. I beg you will keep this matter a secret, tho in a few days I fear that all the world must know it, for it is scarcely possible to manage so great an affair secretly, for which one must have so many persons and so much money to assist. From the hand of your good father Maximilanus, future pope, 18th September.' I quote it from the Observations to M. Bellay's Memoirs, v. 17. p. 459. What commissioners or jury would not think such a letter pretty strong evidence of incipient, if not of decided lunacy?

But notwithstanding the singularities which have been noticed, Maximilian was on the whole such an emperor as to rank rather high, and not undeservedly, in the estimation of his countrymen. Zopf remarks of him, 'He was a great protector of the arts and sciences, and governed for twenty-five years with much glory. He succeeded in 1495, in establishing in Germany 'the public peace,' by the abolition of private wars. He formed at Spires an imperial chamber to determine the differences that should arise between the princes of the empire. He divided this from its former four circles, at first into six and then into ten circles. He established sumptuary laws. He strove in vain to reduce the Swiss to her power, and was obliged by the peace of Basle, in 1499, to allow the Thirteen Cantons to consolidate their confederation.' Precis d'Histoire, v. 2. p. 600. His contests with the Swiss account for his jealousy of their conduct in his Italian campaigns.

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CHAP. VII.

THE RISE, PROGRESS, CONDUCT, AND CHARACTER OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

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AS the bodily elements, and the inferior spirit of man are alike in every age and climate, we might, from theory have expected that both himself and the current of his social life would, like the different classes of animals in the world which he inhabits, have always been uniform and undeviating: and yet our experience is, that the human character, and the scenes and dramas of both its public and private life, exhibit every where both national and individual contrast, diversity, and anomalous eccentricity. One cause of the difference may be, that while the movements of material things are forcibly regulated by appointed laws which never alter, no adamantine fetters of an inexorable necessity coerce the human spirit; but free in its essential nature, tenacious of its freedom, and ever wishing and seeking to exercise this blessing, it tends to spring from all bondage and servile imitation, and to choose its own paths, indulge its own caprices, and make a distinct individuality for itself, independent of others, incalculable by them, and almost always diverging into a specific variety. Some exercise this common power of free will with more energy than others; and hence new characters, dissimilar in several marking and influencing points from those which have preceded, are continually

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emerging from the more tranquil diversities and calmer level of ordinary life; and many of these, in their singularity, take the path of an ambition to acquire a command in its affairs, and an actual government of its polity and population. In every age, men of this description rise up, and step forward beyond their fellows, aspiring to do and to be more than they behold, and continually preventing life from becoming that placid lake or smoothly gliding river which knows no change, displays no commotion, attempts no improvement, and produces no evils [1].

Several characters of this sort have passed before the reader's eye in the preceding pages. Henry was himself entitled to be classed among their number: but he, like Francis and Charles, was placed by nature in that social prominence from which they affected the destinies of their humbler contemporaries. They did not, like the individual we are about to notice, spontaneously stride out of their condition, adventurously and resolutely, to the distinctions they possessed. They did not push themselves forward to seize the helm of human life without any natal pretensions to become its governor, except an aspiring, intrepid, arrogant, insatiable, energetic and ostentatious spirit, which, flattering itself into a persuasion of its own internal superiority, at-

[1] The benefits, as well as the mischief from these characters, have been observed from all antiquity. It was remarked by Plato, and is thus cited from him by our Roger Ascham, in this reign, as true: 'There is nothing better in any commonwealth than that there should be always one or other excellent passing man, whose life and virtue should pluck forward the wit, diligence, labor, and hope of all other: that following his footsteps they might come to the same end, whereunto labor, learning and virtue had conveyed him before.' Toxoph. p. 24. Strype's Cheke, p. 24.

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tempted to bend all others to its dominion; and which, in an age of great pride, warlike bustle, and jealous competition, tho but a scholar and a churchman, succeeded in attaining all the power and pre-eminence which it so aspiringly, and, but for the success, would have been thought, so absurdly to have coveted. Such a character was THOMAS WOLSEY [2], who stands alone in the annals of Europe for the degree and duration of the power and influence which he possessed and exercised over its sovereigns and its affairs; for the original improbability of attaining such an imperial station; for the strength, ascendancy and great activity of his mind; for the minuteness as well as extent of its unwearied power of attention; for the gorgeous pride with which he enjoyed a prosperity almost unexampled; for the signal downfal to which he was precipitated; for the momentous consequences that resulted from his policy, which tho often honorable was too often dishonest; and for his multifarious, complicated, and very variously complexioned and self-entangling machinations.

Son of a butcher, as it was reported and believed while he lived [3], tho some of his later admirers wish

[2] His father, Robert, in his will spells his name Wulcy, and so he himself signed it in his two letters to Fox, printed by Fiddes in his App. p. 9–11. Fiddes, in copying this will, and Rymer, in two documents, 12. p. 183, and 13. p. 219, print it Wuley. This is an obvious misreading of the c. Mr. Singer, in his recent edition of Cavendish's Life of the cardinal, which is the one I quote from, properly inserts Wulcy. His parents are mentioned as Robert and Joan in the pope's bull of indulgence. Rymer, 14. p. 254.

[3] Skelton alludes to him as the butcher's dog, in his satiric poem. 1 Chalmer's poets, p. 273. So Hall describes the populace to have styled him. p. 704. Luther, in his Colloquia, calls him butcher's son. Polydore Vergil describes his father as an honest man, but a butcher. p. 633. Hence bishop Godwin styles his father 'Lanio pauperculo.'

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to doubt a circumstance which they unreasonably consider to be a personal degradation: and of a poor man, as his gentleman usher and earliest biographer, perhaps with an intentional obscurity, more generally states [4], he was sent very early to Oxford by his father or assisting friends [5]. The tuition of the day was rather scholastic disputation than religious knowlege or the learned languages; because piety and the classics were found to be creative of a spirit too judicious, and too honest to uphold the existing superstitions [6]. This direction of study favored his acquisition of an acute and active mind, but implanted no moral or nobler principles.

[4] 'An honest poor man's son.' Cavendish. p. 4, who, in his metrical visions, makes Wolsey mention 'My natural mendicity and poverty.' v. 2. p. 9. When he became great and obnoxious, his name was angrily punned upon. Tyndale calls him 'Wolfse' and 'this wily wolfe.' Prac. Prel.

[5] Cav. 4. That his father could afford to place him at college is thought an objection to the paternal trade, being that of a butcher, as also that his father devised land by his will; but the twenty-five years that elapsed between his birth and his father's will, were a sufficient time for the acquisition of some property from his business; and the interesting Henry Kirke White was the son of a butcher, and yet was educated at Cambridge. I have seen butchers in country towns as reputable and intelligent as any others of its tradesmen, and sometimes with most property. A man may in every trade lead a degraded life if he so chooses, and he may add to it a better taste. In this very reign Wolsey's successor in the cabinet was the son of a country blacksmith, as pope Sixtus V. was soon afterwards a swineherd. The elevation of mature life is therefore no disproof of the lowness of the filial condition.

[6] Erasmus, in his first dedication of St. Jerom's works to Warham, complains strongly of this. 'The bishops began to pursue profane dominion more than their apostolic office of teaching. Good letters began to be neglected. Skill in Greek was disliked, and Hebrew still more. The study of eloquence was despised. The Latin tongue itself was so deformed by new barbarisms, that it was any thing but Latin. Neither history, geography nor antiquity was cared for. All valued literature was contracted into a few sophistical subtleties, and the sum of erudition was confined to collectors and excerptors of the logical topics of the schoolmen, who had the more impudence as they had less learning.' See this printed in Jortin's App. p. 218. For the state of our English universities and schools at that time in this respect, see the authorities cited in Knight's Life of Colet, p. 79-88.

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It excited an ambitious selfishness, impatient for distinction, and discontented with social inferiority and equalizing privacy. He obtained a great power of subtilizing logic, and plausible argumentation[7]; and rising into college offices as he became known, he was rapidly made fellow of Magdalen college, teacher of the school there, and afterwards its bursar, where he enjoyed the society of Erasmus and More[8]. His abilities and attentions as a tutor occasioned his first step to his future advancement. At the age of twenty-five he had not entered the church, tho apparently contemplating or talking of that event[9]. He was still floating on one of the obscurer shoals of life's vast ocean, undecided as to his course; uncertain as to his fortunes[10], and peering eagerly around to discern and catch some of the propitious

[7] Wolsey told Cavendish, that he 'was called at the university the Boy Bachelor, because he was raised to that degree at fifteen years of age, which was a rare thing and seldom seen.' Cav. p. 5. Pol. Vergil, p. 634, remarks, that he became entirely a 'Thomesticus,' or one formed on Thomas Aquinas. Knight's Erasm. p. 28.

[8] He was accused of some misapplication of the collegiate funds. Parker, Brit. Ant. p. 309. Fiddes, from oral report, would refer this to his erection of the tower of the college without sufficient warrant. p. 6. In the absence of direct proof of dishonesty, it will be most just to the accused party, for posterity to give him the benefit of the most favorable representation of his contemporaries.

[9] His father's will, dated 31st Sept. 1496, and proved at Norwich, 11th Oct. 1496, bequeaths to him ten marks, '*if* Thomas, my son, *be* a priest within a year next after my decease, to sing for me and my friends; and if my son be not a priest,' he gives the legacy to 'another honest priest.' Fiddes' App. p. 1.

[10] His father willed that his wife Joan should have all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, and his free and bond lands in St. Stoke. He gives all the residue of his goods to her, to his son and to another person, as his executors, 'to dispose for me as they should think best to please Almighty God, and profit for my soul.' p. 1. This was one of the ways of a testator's bequeathing what he meant to go to the church. So that it does not appear that Wolsey derived any thing from his father's will. He may have left no more than was sufficient for his widow's support.

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gales that might waft him to the notoriety he sighed for. A beneficial chance occurred in the sons of the marquis of Dorset being placed with him for education. He profited by the opportunity, and discharged his duty so well that he was invited by their father to his seat, to spend the Christmas holidays with his pupils. In this visit, his ingratiating manners converted his host into a patron, and he was presented by the marquis with the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire[11], while he was passing his thirtieth year. This gift fixed him in the church, whatever might be the secret dispositions of his soul. That they were not very congenial with his clerical preferment, may be not unjustly inferred from his being put in the stocks the next year for some offensive or irregular conduct[12]. Mortified, but neither humbled nor changed, he withdrew awhile from the scene of his disgrace; but as the rector of a country parish, he had acquired a title which made his name reputable; supplied him with pecuniary means, and presented an avenue to further promotion. He profited by his absence from Lymington to procure the appointment of one of the domestic chaplains of Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury[13]. This introduced him into one of the halls of life's stately dignities, and increased both his fitness and his opportunities of becoming a participator of its ad-

[11] He was inducted 10th Oct. 1500. Fidd. p. 5.

[12] Sir John Harrington intimates that it was for some disorderly conduct at a fair, where he had drunk to excess. Cavendish professes not to know the cause, and Storer, in his metrical life of Wolsey, printed 1599, represents him as saying. 'for no desert of mine.' Singer, 6.

[13] 'Yet he did not long enjoy that patronage.' Fidd 8. For the prelate died 15th Feb. 1503. ib.

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vantages, and of interesting some one to begin his promotion.

He found one of the patrons whom he sought, in sir John Nefans, the treasurer of Calais; and as he served no one whom he did not attach by his zeal, activity and behaviour, the knight made him chaplain to his household; and feeling the infirmities of age, and seeing Wolsey's assiduity and qualifications, and desire for business, willingly permitted him to discharge the labors of the lucrative office. This new task was performed with so much integrity and ability, that when sir John resigned his post, he rewarded Wolsey by procuring his nomination to be one of the king's chaplains[14]—an important preferment, as it entitled Wolsey to visit the royal court, and to appear in it with a creditable distinction, which gave foundation and efficacy to all his future operations.

He was now in the scene and situation where all his personal an ‹ quired advantages could be exerted and displayed with certain impression. His natural dignity of presence, his obsequious civility, his fluent elocution, his varied experience, his mature judgment, his self-command, his penetration into the foibles and ductilities of others, his real knowlege, his beneficial counsels, and his zealous attention to whatever was entrusted to his care, could not be perceived without interesting, nor be directed purposely upon any one, without conciliating regard. At thirty-five he obtained from an abbot an additional rectory[15], which increased his funds for his

[14] Cavend. 8, 9.

[15] Of Redgrave, in Norfolk, on 8 June 1506. Fidd. 10. He also be-

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courtly attendance, as much as this may have lessened his inclination for its sacred obligations; but as chaplain, he had valuable moments, which his vigilance never allowed to pass unimproved, of being in his sovereign's presence. That sovereign was then the able and discerning, but wary and retiring Henry VII. Yet Wolsey's duty of saying mass in the royal closet and his care to place himself within their notice, gave him means of attracting the favor of two of the cabinet ministers, the bishop of Winchester, and sir Thomas Lovel, chancellor of the exchequer[16].

These statesmen observed not only his agreeable manners, but his solid understanding and capacity for business. It happened at this juncture that Henry VII. after the death of his queen, too anxiously pursuing an aggrandizing policy, planned, in his advancing age, a marriage with Margaret, the daughter of the emperor Maximilian. She had become the widow of the duke of Savoy; but being appointed the governess of Flanders, their contiguity to England, and commercial importance, gave a value to her hand, which invited Henry to desire it[17]. He began afterwards a treaty for an alliance between his own daughter Mary and the emperor's grandson, Charles, then archduke of Austria and prince of

came vicar of Lyde, (Rem. 13. p. 217.) precentor of St. Paul's, bailiff of Cheshunt, in Hereford, and park-keeper of Brantingishey there. Fiddes, 174.

[16] Cav. 9. The mass 'done, he spent not the day forth in idleness, but gave his attendance upon those whom he thought to bear most rule in the council and to be most in favor with the king.' ib.

[17] By the commission to J. Young, in Rymer, 12. p. 127, it appears that he made the treaty for this alliance on 20th March 1506.

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Spain[18]; but as they were both infants, his own nuptials presented a more immediate gratification of his speculative policy. Both objects were therefore pursued; and at some critical point of this double negotiation, Henry wished to dispatch an envoy with great speed to Maximilian, to confer confidentially upon it. At this juncture, Fox and Lovel recollected what they had observed of Wolsey's talents, and recommended him as the fittest person for the commission. Henry, choosing to trust his own judgment, desired to see the man whom they praised. Such an authorized interview was the prize Wolsey coveted. He satisfied the scrutinizing king, and received his dispatches. He left Richmond palace at noon, and resolved to make the business instrumental to his advancement. He hurried to Gravesend by a barge then setting off with a prosperous wind and tide; landed but to travel post to Dover; found the passage boat spreading its sails for Calais; reached that town in three hours, to depart immediately for Flanders; and arrived at the imperial court, probably at Bruges, in the night of the day on which he had quitted the king. Maximilian, hearing of an English envoy wishing to have an audience, admitted him without form or procrastination; assented to the requests of Henry, and dispatched him back with the favoring credentials. Without resting, he returned to Calais by the time the gates opened; crossed the Channel to Dover by ten o'clock on the following morning, and was at

[18] The treaty for this marriage was signed on 21st Dec. 1507. Rym. p. 171. In an instrument dated 25th Oct. 1508, this wedding is stated to have been deferred by the king's illness. ib. p. 230.

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Richmond on the night of the day after he had left it. Too late to disturb the king, he took the repose which he wanted himself, but was in the palace by the time Henry first left his bed-chamber to proceed to his closet devotions. Surprised by Wolsey's presence, he rebuked him for not having gone upon his commission, but was far more astonished to see his messenger kneel at his feet, and present him with the emperor's consent to his wishes. A speed so rarely paralleled, and which could not have been effected without the fortunate concurrence of many circumstances, attached a distinction to the name of Wolsey which ensured his future promotion. That he had foreseen one important point which Henry had omitted to mention, and which Wolsey had anticipated and provided for, was an evidence of diplomatic sagacity which increased his reputation[19]. He was rewarded for his exertion with the deanery of Lincoln[20]. This promotion raised him to be one of the dignitaries of the established church; a sacred office, given for mere worldly service: and ecclesiastical preferments so bestowed, could only form

[19] Cavendish, 10–14. who adds, 'This tale I received of his own mouth and report, after his fall, lying at that time in the great park of Richmond, I being then there attending upon him.' p. 16.

[20] Cavendish mentions that this preferment 'the king gave him at that time.' p. 15. From Le Neve's Fasti, p. 146, we find that this collation was made on 2d Feb. 1508. This date connects Wolsey's mission with the treaty of 21st Dec. 1507, mentioned in the preceding note. In the British Museum are two original letters or instructions from Henry VII. to Wolsey. One dated 7th November, without the year, about the king's own marriage; and the other, without any date, on both marriages. MS. Galba, B. 2. p. 125–8. And also fragments of a letter from Henry VII. to a lady, apparently to this Margaret. ib. p. 132. We may apply all these to the last months of 1507, and place Wolsey's expeditious journey in the November of that year. The marriage of Charles was contracted to be solemnized at the following Easter, and the actual nuptials to take place within forty days after Charles became fourteen.

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worldly clergymen such as the reformers called the shearers, not the shepherds of their flock. The debilitating sickness which now attacked Henry VII. and his death in the April of the following year, gave no further occasion for Wolsey's utilities or advancement in that reign[21].

It was from Henry VIII. that his rapid elevation and great distinctions came. At this king's accession he was thirty-eight, and his new sovereign nineteen; but he had already acquired reputation, an affluent income, and a familiarity with the court. Henry was urbane, very accessible, and loved talent and attentions. The dean had been often in his presence, and was not backward to display his powers of conversation and entertainment; and before six months of the new reign had elapsed, he showed the advance he was making in the favor of his royal master, by obtaining a grant of Empson's forfeited houses and ground at Bridewell, near Fleet-street[22], and by the appointment of counsellor and almoner to the king. Daily before him to perform the mass[23], he had also addressed himself to Henry's juvenile propensities as well as to his better qualities. He displayed the character of a facetious man; and in the private hours of majesty, throwing aside his sacerdotal personification, he sang, he danced, laughed, joked, played, and emitted his casual wit-

[21] In 1507, John Ednam was appointed the king's almoner. 13 Rym. Fiddes therefore justly says, it ought not to be presumed that Wolsey had the office during this reign. 17.

[22] Rymer, v. 15. p. 269. It is called in the grant dated 30th Jan. 1510, 'La maison curiale, with twelve gardens and orchards, between the Thames and St. Bride's gardens in Fleet-street.' Wolsey here kept house for his family. Cav. 17.

[23] Pol. Verg. 632. Cavend. 9.

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ticisms[24], till the king was charmed with seeing the solid thought of thirty-eight united with the fun and merriment of the most sportive youth. Benefited by his serious conferences, and amused by his levity, Henry rewarded liberally his gratifying companion; but unfortunately made the gifts in that perversion of clerical promotions which ought to have been the recompence of clerical duties only. In February 1510, Wolsey obtained a prebendary at Windsor, and in November another rectory[25]; a York prebendary stall, and another deanery, in the beginning of 1512, with the more appropriate gift of the registary of the Order of the Garter, and a third deanery in 1513[26]. He attended daily on the king. His growing influence being observed, he was himself assiduously courted[27]. But it was not mere compliance with Henry's relaxations that now accelerated his promotion. He was pushed into the cabinet by a cabinet minister. The leader of its ecclesiastical portion was Fox, the bishop of Winchester, a favorite statesman of Henry VII. Contented with the general serenity and prosperity of the country, Fox opposed the martial counsels and less disinterested measures of the earl of Surrey,

[24] Pol. Verg. 633. Tyndale also thus writes to the same effect: 'He came unto the king and waited upon him, and was no man so obsequious and serviceable, and in all games and sports the first and next at hand; and as a captain to courage other, and a gay finder out of new pastimes to obtain favor with all. He spied out the nature and disposition of the king's playfellows, and of all that were great, and whom he spied meet for his purpose, him he flattered and made faithful with great promises.' Prac. Prel.

[25] Rym. p. 293. Wood. Ath. Oxon. It was the rectory of Torrington, diocese of Exeter.

[26] Fiddes' Wols. p. 20. The prebend was given by archbishop Bambridge, who was promoted to the embassy to Rome.

[27] Cav. Wols. p. 18.

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who headed the lay part of the administration[28]; but finding the advice of his rival more palatable than his own to the young ear of royalty, and observing Henry's partiality for the sportive dean, who could pass so attractively "from grave to gay, from lively to severe," he used all his influence and persuasion to convert the applauded companion into a favorite statesman. He praised Wolsey's political abilities to the king—advised that he should be made a part of the council—encouraged Wolsey to aspire—and at last established him as his ally in the cabinet[29]. Surrey saw thro the design, but could not avert its execution. Wolsey drew the king to his domestic residence, and made it the mansion of pleasure to him; and then pursuing steadily his own path to his own aggrandizement, instilled frequently to the king the wisdom and weight of an unity of council, and of one grand and persevering system of affairs. Many counsellors, with many opinions, did the state no service. It was better that one man and one mind should rule the cabinet till he felt himself disposed to become his own efficient minister, than to let it fluctuate into inconsistent mutations[30]. Henry listened to be convinced, and to think that the adviser should be the dictator. Fox, intent only on thwarting his noble antagonist, seconded Wolsey's policy, and set himself the example of deferring to his judgment; and when the bishop, from vexation at being censured for his patronage, withdrew gradually from public

[28] Pol. Verg. 632. [29] Pol. Verg. ib. [30] Pol. Verg. 633.

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business[31], his retreat only consolidated Wolsey's ascendancy, and left him to be more completely the preferred master of the political field. He became, with extraordinary rapidity, the undisputed prime minister.

Henry, fond of literature and music, and eagerly devoting himself to the study of Thomas Aquinas, which Wolsey recommended to him[32], because his own proficiency in the works of this ablest and best of all the schoolmen would furnish him with topics of discussion with his royal master, in which he could both please and shine, listened to his new minister's advice not to trouble himself to attend all the councils, but to commit the general direction of business to his care, on the plan of being made acquainted with the weighty subjects; and of his will and pleasure on these, being acquiesced in and adopted. This produced a contest between the graver ministers, who wished the king's presence at their discussions, and Wolsey, who assured him it was unnecessary. Henry at that time preferred the easing system of his favorite, and the whole direction of affairs, with new effusions of the royal bounty, devolved upon the almoner[33].

The care of providing all that was requisite for the French war of 1513, was confided to Wolsey[34]

[31] Pol. Verg. 633. [32] Pol. Verg. 634. [33] Cavend. 18–21.

[34] Cav. 24. In August 1512, we find Wolsey in such confidence with the king, that he tells his patron, bishop Fox, that no one knew of the burning of the great ship the Regent, but only 'the king and I.' Lett. Fidd. Ap. 11. To Fox about that time, he signs in the lowly style of, 'with the rude hand of your loving and humble priest.' ib. p. 9. But in 1514 he was so advanced, that Henry subscribes to him 'Your loving master, Henry R.' ib. p. 15.

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—a rich source of abundant emolument, influence, patronage and power. He attended the king to his campaign, and became the principal person at his side, being deemed the author of the expedition, and he participated in all the reputation which it gained[35]. He was appointed bishop of the conquered town of Tournay[36]; and in the following year bishop of Lincoln, and also, on the death of one of his patrons, archbishop of York[37]. Honors and riches were now both in his disposal, and at his command. He had but to request in order to receive, and his heart felt no remorse at either. He obtained afterwards and kept several successive bishoprics—an unshamed accumulation of ecclesiastical dignities, for no ecclesiastical purposes; but the most rapacious pluralist whom biography has recorded, seems to have been far surpassed by Wolsey, even in that most unscrupulous age of ecclesiastical avarice, luxury, simony and worldlyness. He was now so exalted, that the queen corresponded confidentially with him[38]. The king's sister Mary, on becoming queen of France, wrote to him as to a person of the first consideration[39]; and from the queen of Scotland, in the same relation-

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[35] Pol. Verg. 641. [36] Fiddes, 62.

[37] His bull for the see of Lincoln is dated 8 Id. Feb. 1514; and that for York, 7 Kal. Oct. On 4 June he had also a grant to name to the abbey of Bermondsey when vacant. Rym. 589. 410. 450.

[38] Thus Catharine, in 1513, expresses to him her anxiety about her husband's welfare: 'I pray you to take the pains with every of my messengers to write to me of the king's health, and what he intendeth to do; for when ye come near our enemies, I shall be never in rest till I see often letters from you; and doing this, ye shall give me cause to thank you: and I shall know that the mind that ye have had ever to me, continueth still as my trust always hath been.' 1 Ellis 80. For her other letters to him, see ib. p. 82–5, and 89–91.

[39] Mr. Ellis's Collection, v. 1. p. 117. 119.

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ship, he received also letters both of business and friendship[40].

It was the violent and unexpected death of cardinal Bambridge, the king's ambassador at Rome[41], which had made the vacancy for Wolsey to be archbishop of York; and he renewed the ancient controversy with the prelate of Canterbury, for honors, rank and precedence[42]. His passion, not merely for power, and distinction, and flattery, but for public and acknowleged superiority, now began to emerge at the age of forty-three, to an unparalleled excess, and soon became the dormant principle of his life[43]. His influence over Henry was so unusual, and from the king's strength of character seemed to be so unaccountable, that it was ascribed to a compact with

[40] Ellis's Coll. v. 1. p. 128. 130. On 16th May 1518, Henry granted him the extraordinary privilege of giving the conge d'elire (the royal consent) to the nominations for the bishops, and to order the restitution of their temporals. Rym. 606.

[41] On 14th July 1514, the Cardinal de Medicis wrote to Henry VIII, that Bambridge had expired that day. 1 Ellis, Orig. Lett. p. 100. He appears to have been poisoned by his priest, Ronald de Modena, who said he had been incited by Giglis, bishop of Worcester, the prelate that succeeded him in his embassy. The secretary Burbank's letter to Henry details, that the body was opened by the pope's command, and discovered marks of poison. Ronald was apprehended on suspicion; he confessed that he had many times revealed the cardinal's secrets to the bishop; and afterwards added in writing, that he had put poison into his pottage, 'at the desire and conduction thereto of the bishop of Worcester,' who had given him fifteen ducats of gold, and said to him, 'If we rid not this cardinal of the world we shall never be in quietness.' The pope finding it involved a prelate, 'would gladly have the matter coloured.' See the letter in Ellis, 1. p. 100-6. The poisoner stabbed himself. Fiddes has mentioned some of these facts from a letter of the cardinal's other secretary, (Pace, p. 92.) which Mr. Ellis has also printed. 108.

[42] Cavendish, 27, 28. One of the main points of dispute was the carrying the silver cross, the great insignia of the archiepiscopal dignity. Warham required that York's should not be carried in his province, nor in society with his. Wolsey insisted on both.

[43] He who was so fond of the most superb parade in his own person, shewed his desire of lowering others by sending commissions

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Satan[44]. It was really that imperceptible command which a determined and artful mind which bent its moral principles to its temporary purpose, while it appeared to act upon them, progressively obtained over a confiding and partial master; whose humors it studied, whose influenced will it readily obeyed, whose independence it combated but to yield, whose talents it always complimented, to whom it supplied the pleasurable gratifications that were most congenial with his taste, and on whom it never pressed its own views and feelings, farther or longer than they could be safely urged[45]. In addition to those secretly-governing attractions, Wolsey also merited no small degree of attachment by activity, services, assiduity, cheerfulness, steadiness, varied knowlege, and intelligent conversation. Tho not a man of literary erudition, he was learned in the experience of life; and he possessed that persuading oratory of colloquial intercourse, so disarming, because in manner so artless: so subduing when unsuspected, because it is earnest feeling exciting kindred sympathies; which feasts the understanding even while it misleads it, and wins its immediate assent even

into all the counties to enforce the statutes which limited the dresses of the people, and himself took from a gentleman one day, 'an old jacket of crimson velvet,' which was above the legal appointment. Hall 583.

[44] A friar declared, that both the duke of Suffolk and Wolsey 'meddled with the devil, and so kept the king subject to all that pleased them.' Fiddes, p. 91. Erasmus mentioned, that 'he visibly reigned more truly than the king.' Ep. 1151.

[45] The Horatian verse might be fully applied to Wolsey:

'Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res.'

Leo's bull to him in 1518 says, 'Knowing your favor and power with the king, and that by your great and prudent council, and keen ingenuity, you can easily and rightly persuade and dissuade him.' See it in Rym. 13. p. 606.

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when the delighted ear can often remember afterwards nothing but its own concurrent pleasure, and searches in vain for the recollection of the reasons on which it had decided[46]. By these powers he captivated Henry, and he soon obtained the temporal distinctions, which impressed, and awed, and silenced, if they did not conciliate, the little world that crowded around him.

In 1515, after much exertion, he procured himself to be named a cardinal[47]. It was important to his pride that he should have this dignity, as it exalted him above the highest degree of nobility[48]. He therefore chose to receive his scarlet hat with an artificial pomp, and to use it with a theatrical ostentation, which must have irritated those whom he aimed to subject by it[49]. The discussions of his vanity with Warham, whose legitimate superiority he could not brook[50], created at last that dissatisfaction in this worthier prelate's mind, that he re-

[46] Cavendish speaks strongly of this talent: 'He had a special gift of natural eloquence, with a filed tongue to pronounce the same, so that he was able with the same to persuade and allure all men to his purpose.' p. 21.

[47] 'He caused the king, and the French king, to write to Rome for him, and at their request obtained his purpose.' Hall, 581. His title was, Card. Sanctæ Siciliæ de urbe.

[48] The duke of Norfolk told him, 'Ye were archbishop of York, and a cardinal whose estate of honor surmounteth any duke now being within this realm.' Cav. 214.

[49] The pope sent the hat in a box by a common messenger, as he usually did to distant churchmen. This did not satisfy Wolsey's vanity. He dressed the man in costly silks, and met him at Blackheath, with a large procession of prelates and gentlemen, and conducted him to Westminster in triumph. Cav. 29. 'The hat was then placed in state on a table, with tapers round it, before an empty suit, and the greatest duke in the land was compelled to make a curtesy to it.' Tindal, as quoted by Dr. Wordsworth. Eccl. Biog.

[50] Cav. 28–30. For the papers describing Wolsey's contests with Warham, see 1 Strype's Eccl. Mem. App. 47–50

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signed the seals of lord chancellor. Wolsey profited by this act to upbraid his spleen, and to procure the dignity for himself[51]. He completed the accumulation of what earthly grandeur he could beg or extort in his own country, by obtaining from the pope in the next year, to be his legate a latere in England[52]. By this legantine appointment, he was the representative of the pope himself in his native island, and was raised at the head, and as he construed its powers, almost absolutely in the command of all its prelacy and clergy. He conceived it to lift him to a close vicinity to the throne; and so he always afterwards placed, and as so stationed, publicly conducted, himself[53]. An abbey, and three more bishoprics, with a prostitution of their revenues to a subserviency to selfish ambition, but with the full papal sanction, were successively added[54] to increase his wealth, and provide for the profuse ex-

[51] Cavend. p. 30. Hall.—On Dec. 1515. Rym. 529.

[52] Cav. 29. This bull, 6 Kal. Aug. 1518, granted to Wolsey and Campejo the power of relaxing and conceding a plenary remission of the sins of the king and queen, and of granting indulgences to all who should be truly penitent and confess. See it in Rym. 13. 609.

[53] Cav. 31. On his fall, he said to the duke of Norfolk, who had declined to wash with him before dinner, as too great a presumption, 'My authority and dignity legatine is gone, wherein consisted all my high honor.' Cav. 213. Hall describes his conduct, and adds, 'the cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal with the king; and when he had said mass, he made dukes and earls to serve him of wine, and to hold the bason at the lavotories.' p. 593. The Spaniards with Charles V. were indignant that dukes should hold his bason. ib. 620. But he then washed directly after the king and queen, and with the queens of France and Arragon. So at the banquet to Charles, he sat between his own queen and the queen of Arragon. Stowe Ann. 510.

[54] Cav. 32. The bull, 3 Kal. Aug. 1518, allows him the see of Bath and Wells to maintain his cardinal dignity. Rym. 610. On 6 Id. Nov. 1522, Adrian issued his bull for giving him the abbey of St. Albans, in commendam, for life. Rym. 775. And another, 7 Kal. Ap. 1523, for the see of Durham, without prejudice to his other benefices. 783. On 20th Oct. 1528, he had the see of Winchester. Rym. 14. 268.

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penditure into which his gorgeous vanity immediately plunged.

He was now a second king; sat at his right hand, and was suffered by him to partake of the honors rendered to royalty[55]. He was addressed by the Doge of Venice as another portion of the royal power[56]; and even the university of Oxford exceeded all precedent, in repeatedly applying to him the appellation of "Your majesty[57]." From 1518 to 1524, the emperor personally and frequently corresponded with him[58]; so did Francis the first[59], and his mother[60], also Maximilian[61], and always in the

[55] Monsieur du Bellay thus describes what he saw in October 1527. 'In all things the cardinal was honored like the king's own person, and sat always at his right hand. In all places where the king's arms were put, the cardinal's had the same rank, so that in every honor they were equal.' Mem. v. 18. p. 42.

[56] See the Doge's words, quoted by Fiddes, p. 178.

[57] 'Consultissima tua majestas, reverendissima majestas; inaudita majestatis tuæ benignitas; vestra illa sublimis et longe reverendissima majestas.' Fiddes, from the Bodleian archives, p. 178. Foreign powers adopted the most courteous style to him; Louis XII. calls him 'Mon bon ami.' Rym. v. 13. So Francis repeatedly. So Charles, in his friendly letter of 11th Nov. 1520, 'mon bon et loyal ami.' Rym. 13. p. 776.

[58] Numerous original letters of Charles V. to Wolsey are preserved in the British Museum. One of 1517, in Galba, b. 6. and one of 1518, and two of 1519, in Vesp. c. 1; five of 1520, in the same MS. and in Vitell. b. 20, and Galba, b. 6; six of 1521, in Galba, b. 7; five of 1522, in Vesp. c. 2, and Galba, b. 7 and 8; three of 1523, and as many of 1524, in Vesp. c. 2. After this year the intimacy declined, though I observe one from Granada in November 1526, in the last-mentioned MS. p. 286.

[59] The Cotton Library has of this king's letters to Wolsey, three in 1518; two in 1519; and five in 1520, in MS. Calig. D. 7, besides three others in E. 2, and one in 1526, in D. 9. After Wolsey joined the emperor against him, Francis seems to have discontinued all epistolary civility.

[60] As in 1521, MS. Cal. D. 8.

[61] Two in 1518, in the Vitel. B. 20. There are also three from the emperor's daughter, Margaret, the regent of Flanders, in Galba, b. 6; and several are in other MSS. from the duke of Bourbon, Henry's queen Catherine, and his sisters, the queen dowagers of France and Scotland; from the duke of Albany, the duchess of Angouleme, and other foreign princes and princesses.

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terms of respectful familiarity. The popes also treated him with singular consideration; and his own style claimed it, for he was not only coupled with the king by foreign powers, and his own ambassadors in their consultations and despatches[62], but in his own, usually connected himself with his sovereign as a sort of co-equal power, by his well-known phrase of "The king and I[63]." His own ambitious efforts to identify himself, in the public eye, with his sovereign, tho felt to be an undue assumption, were yet countenanced by those who, if they did not rebuke, ought not by their example, and for their own purposes, to have encouraged it. CHAP. VII.

That the love of power should have been one of the master principles of Wolsey's soul, is too natural an infirmity to create surprize even from the intensity with which it actuated him. But that an intelligent mind, which, from its desire to govern all things, immersed itself deeply in all the affairs of a large kingdom and moving age, should, at the soundest period of human life, between forty and fifty, suddenly display an inordinate passion for the most

[62] Almost all the diplomatic letters exhibit this union. Thus, Dr. Tayler writes, that Francis said he would not perform any thing of the treaty of Madrid without '*the king and cardinal's advice*;' and that the papal and Venetian ambassadors told him 'they had letters from the pope to give thanks to *the king and cardinal* for furthering the holy league.' MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 160. In most of the foreign dispatches, they are thus spoken of and written of together.

[63] Thus Wolsey writes to Pace, in March 1524: 'His highness and I give unto you hearty thanks.' 'Neither the king's highness nor I will advise him.' MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 58, 9. So in June 1524. 'Much it is to the king's and my comfort.' p. 116. In May 1524, he says to the envoy at Rome, 'the king's highness and I abide daily knowlege.' 'Arrived here the archbishop of Capua, whom the king's highness and I like.' 'The king's highness and I be always of the same mind that the emperor is.' 'The king's highness and I gave my own lodging and chambers to him.' Vitell. B. 6. p. 66–8. This is his common style.

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extravagant pomp, was an inconsistent phenomenon, as rare as it was in him absurd and unamiable. There is usually a greatness of mind about ambition, which disdains petty distinctions; but what can betray feebler littleness of spirit in a public man like Wolsey, than his study to surpass even the most girlish vanity in an overweening fondness for extraordinary dress and popular show. Cæsar Borgia, after he had thrown off his cardinal's hat and become a duke, did on one occasion affect an unusual pomp, when he made his entry to the court of France to receive the hand of a fair princess[64]. Such a purpose might excite a temporary ebullition of young vanity. But even this hunter of every wordly good, at the expence of every moral virtue, did not make his pomp the inseparable companion of his person and his conduct; and even his display—which was thought so peculiar as to be sung in rime[65]—was transcended by Wolsey in his public embassies.

[64] As Wolsey may have had this ex-cardinal's procession in his eye, from its being at that time much talked of, we will annex a few particulars of it from Brantom. A cardinal, and several lords and gentlemen preceded; twenty-four mules, caparisoned with his escutcheons, and laden with coffers, followed; and twenty-four others, with the red and yellow trappings of the royal French livery. Twelve more paced behind in housings of yellow satin, succeeded by ten other mules, covered with cloth of gold. As these moved up the ascent to the castle at Chinon, sixteen large horses were led on in red and yellow cloth of gold, succeeded by eighteen pages mounted in crimson velvet, two of them still finer. Six beauitful mules, in red harness, were led by lacqueys in velvet, followed by two mules in cloth of gold, with coffers, supposed to contain jewels for his lady, relics, and papal indulgencies. Thirty gentlemen, in cloth of silver and of gold, came after these. Minstrels superbly dressed, succeeded by trumpets and clarions of silver sounding their grandest notes, and accompanied by twenty-four velveted lacqueys, led the gazing eye to Cæsar Borgia himself, whose dress had all the finery with which the workmen of Italy could adorn him, and which Brantom fully details. Discours. 48. V. 5.

[65] Brantom wrote his description from an old 'discours en rime,' which he found 'dans le tresor de notre maison.' Vol. 5. p. 261.

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It is, to use a favorite phrase of his day, a marvellous thing, that such a man, with such talents for better things, so prosperous from them, and from interior strength so little needing a pretty female's frippery, should deviate into a taste so exorbitant for it. His penetrating eye, that looked so deeply into the characters of all whom he employed, must have perceived that the man nobly born, continues, and is known and felt to be so, whether he afterwards wears a splendid coat or a plain one. Such a descent is an advantage wherever birth is valued, which needs no tailor's heraldry; and where it is wanting, no external gaudiness can confer it, or seduce the public eye to forget that the decorations which challenge its applause, are but the trappings of upstart prosperity, which the most worthless can put on, and which the most ignoble are the most proud of. Yet Wolsey, from the age of forty-five to sixty, began the fashion—the first and last clergyman who did so,—of dressing himself in dainty silken garments, and of leading those priests who wished to gain his favor to imitate his new foppery[66]. He carried this so far when the emperor met Henry at Calais, as to command the bishops and inferior clergy to appear only in silk dresses, which the archbishop of Canterbury alone had the spirit and virtue to disobey[67]. Sir Thomas More had the good taste to censure this unclerical and corrupting vanity[68]; but Wolsey made it the distinction of his

[66] Pol. Verg. 633.

[67] Erasmus mentions this in his preface to Jerom. Jort. App. 231. Warham would use no such costume but in celebrating high mass. ib.

[68] More says, 'a great part of the proud and pompous apparel that many priests used in years not long past, they wore by the pride and

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train of state, that they should be thus accoutred[69]. Even his shoes were gold.

In the same humor, his saddle was covered with gold—his couch and his table-cloth shone with a surface of the same metal. His hat, like an idol, was carried on high when he went out on foot, and placed on the altar, in a kind of regal shrine, while he attended divine service[70]. He had the tallest and handsomest men selected for his officers, and made these qualities one of his reasons in appointing a chaplain, and in recommending one to the university as his commissary, while the learned body informed him, that they so valued his communication as to chuse a person for their beadle, because, to his other merit, he added a comely and exquisitely proportioned body[71]. It is beneficial that absurd fashions should be carried to an excess, as they then produce a general conviction of their folly, and vanish in the public derision. A vicious taste for gaudy dress had been growing on the English nation from the days of Occleve, who satirized it[72], and when Wolsey pushed it to a childish caricature, the good sense of his countrymen felt and abandoned what always deteriorates and degrades[73]. The arro-

oversight of some few, *forced*, in a manner, against their own wills to wear.' Engl. Works, 892.

[69] Tyndale thus describes it: 'He made a journey of gentlemen, all arrayed in silk, so much, that their very shoes, and the lining of their boots, were much more like their mothers, than men of war. I am sure many of their mothers would have been ashamed of so nice and wanton an array.' Pract. of Prelates.

[70] Pol. Verg. 645. [71] Fiddes, 182.

[72] Middle Ages of the History of England, v. 2. p. 269.

[73] He had two great crosses of silver carried before him by two of the tallest, as well as comeliest priests he could procure, and two silver pillars, borne by laymen, instead of a mace. Cav. 32; and the poet

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gating pretensions of a man who had sprung from the lowest origin, only roused the public spleen [74]. The domestic exertions of his power increased his pecuniary resources, but at the expence both of principle and popularity [75].

His personal state displayed that assumption of grandeur, and arrogance of parade, which distinguished Thomas à Becket, a character of note, whom Wolsey seems to have emulated, and to have resolved to surpass. Avoiding Bechet's error, of combating the inclinations and defying the power of the sovereign, Wolsey imitated his arrogant vanity, and caused a great number of noblemen and gentlemen to be attending daily upon him, and his tall and comely yeomen; having, even in his common servants, like the father of the most celebrated king of Prussia in his guards, a taste for giants about his person. They formed a part of the fantastic architecture of his greatness; and fortunate was that individual who could "prefer any tall and comely yeoman" into his service [76].

He had every day in his hall three special tables

Roy, quoted by Mr. Singer. ib. One pillar was the customary state of a legate, but the double pomp excited the public criticism. Hall, 201.

[74] Hall remarks, 'when once he was a perfect cardinal he looked then above all estates, so that all men almost hated him, and disdained him.' p. 583.

[75] It is thus described by the old chronicler who witnessed it: 'He set up a court as a legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hindrance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, exempt or not exempt, and, under color of reformation, he got much treasure, for nothing was reformed but came to more mischief. By example of his pride, priests, and all spiritual persons, waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk, both in gowns, jackets, doublets and shoes, were openly vicious, and so highly bore themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called heretic, and be taken to a faggot.' Hall, 593.

[76] Cavend. 33, 34.

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spread for his principal officers. His steward, who was a dean or priest; his treasurer, a knight; and his comptroller, an esquire; who, as in the royal palace, carried in his house their white staves. His master cook went about daily in damask satin or velvet, with a chain of gold around his neck. He had his high and his vice chamberlain, twelve gentlemen ushers, six gentlemen waiters, nine or ten lords, called his wards, who paid him an income: Forty cup-bearers, carvers and attendants; forty-six yeomen of his chamber; sixteen doctors and chaplains, to say daily mass; twenty-eight singing men and children, and many other servants and officers, with various designations. All these were every day in attendance upon him. The whole number of his household as enrolled, consisted of one hundred and eighty; or, as the best manuscripts state, of five hundred persons[77].

When we observe our chancellor, Lord Eldon, inferior to no predecessor as an equity judge, and in the brightest period of England's greatness, riding to discharge the duties of his high office in one decorous carriage, containing also his seals and mace, we can but smile at the style in which Wolsey chose to go to the same avocations in Westminster hall, daily in the term season[78]. He waited till his apartments were filled with noblemen, gentry and others, and then he issued out to them in his cardinal's habit, either of fine scarlet or crimson satin: his head adorned with black velvet. His seals and hat were

[77] Cav. 34–40. Dr. Wordsworth's edition has 180 persons, and Mr. Singer's MS. 500. The edition of 1641 reads 800.
[78] Cav. 42.

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borne before him by two noblemen, right solemnly and bareheaded. His two great silver crosses were followed by his massy silver pillars, and the mace of gilt silver. His gentleman usher preceded him, crying out to the courtiers who thronged his levee, "On, my lords and masters! On before—make way for my lord's grace." At his hall door stood his mule, in crimson velvet with gilded stirrups. His cross and pillar bearers mounted their great horses with scarlet trappings, and with four footmen with gilt pole-axes, clearing the way before them, he proceeded to his judicial seat in our ancient hall. He sat there till eleven o'clock, hearing suitors and determining divers matters [79]. It is mentioned, and ought to repeated to his credit, that he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merit and deserts [80]. This was the noble uprightness of an impartial judge—but what a false sublime was the anterior pomp! Who can place his greatness in his parade without betraying a sense that he wants it in himself?

In the same state, the cardinal every Sunday proceeded to pay his court to the king [81]. But altho by this processional pantomime he intended to create a feeling of admiration and awe as he passed, which would magnify his idolized self in the eyes of the spectators, it failed generally of its desired effect. The proud love not each others pride. The calm and judicious perceive that it diminishes the impression of an anterior worth, and gives to what is solid metal the appearance of something counterfeit.

[79] Cav. 42–4. [80] Cav. 45. [81] Ib.

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The meanest minds only estimate the actor by his trappings, and even most of these envy and reproach what they cannot share [82].

When we see him date his letter to the king from his *poor* house at Westminster [83], we smile to find, from his attendant, that this poor house was as splendid as magnificence could make it. Cavendish describes his mansions to have been in the most sumptuous style, beautified by the most expert artificers, brought both from far and near. Their roofs shone with gold like the sun, and were "craftily entaylled with images embossed." His chambers were garnished with the finest tapestry. A cloth of state was spread while he dined, amid the subtle perfumes of musk and sweet amber; and with plate of all sorts, most curiously wrought of fashions new. His dishes were all of silver, full of the daintiest viands. He drank his wine always in silver and in gold [84].

[82] He forgot the wise remark of the ancient, 'Sine pompa, sine invidia;' and yet, perhaps, the envy they excite is one of the strange gratifications of the proud.

[83] In his letter to the king, of 29th November 1523, he subscribes, 'at my poor house at Westminster,' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 223.

[84] This author, in his metrical versions to describe what he had seen, makes the cardinal thus express it:—

'My buildings sumptuous; the roofs with gold and byse
Shone like the sun in mid-day sphere.
Craftily entaylled, as cunning could devise,
With images embossed, most lively did appear—
My galleries were fair; both large and long,
To walk in them when that it liked me best:
My gardens sweet, enclosed with walles strong,
Embanked with benches to sit and take my rest,
The knotts so enknotted it cannot be express'd;
With arbors and allies, so pleasant and so dulce,
The pestilent airs with flavors to repulse.
My chambers garnished with arras fine,
Importing personages of the liveliest kind;

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CHAP. VII.

But whatever vulgar stare or cynical eyes may have been drawn upon Wolsey by the superb state which he cherished, with the intense fondness of a child for its shining toys; yet it created none of that genuine admiration which, on the omission of this, his other qualities might have attracted. We read the public feeling in the remarks of the good-natured sir Thomas More[85], of the zealous Dr. Barnes[86], besides those of Tyndal and Hall already quoted[87], and of Erasmus[88]. His mind became as

And when I was disposed in them to dine,
My cloth of state there ready did I find.
The subtle perfumes of musk and sweet amber,
There wanted none to perfume all my chamber.
Plate of all sorts most curiously wrought,
Of fashions new; I cared not for the old.
No vessell but silver before me was brought
Full of dainty viands. The same cannot be told;
I drank my wine always in silver and in gold.
My crosses twain of silver, long and great,
That daily before me were carried high,
Upon great horses, openly in the street;
And massy pillars, glorious to the eye,
With pole-axes gilt, that no man durst come nigh
My presence. I was princely to behold,
Riding on my mule, trapped in silver and in gold.'

V. 2. p. 10–12.

[85] On a discussion in the Commons how the cardinal should be received there, sir Thomas, then speaker, lanced this sneer: 'It shall not, in my mind, be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too.' Roper's Life, p. 21.

[86] Barnes had preached a sermon at Cambridge, for which he was called to appear before the cardinal. Its allusions to Wolsey's state, we may infer from the cardinal's address to him, as stated by Fox, and cited by Dr. Wordsworth. 'What! master doctor! had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my cross, did so sore offend you, that you must make us a ridiculum caput before the people?' Fox's Acts, p. 1088.

[87] Hall also remarks, that during the plague, when the king lived retired, 'He kept open house at Richmond, to lords, ladies, and all other that would come with plays and disguisings, in most royal manner, which sore grieved the people, to see him keep an open court, and the king a secret court.' p. 707.

[88] Erasmus is concise, but strong: 'He was dreaded by all, and loved by few, or rather by none.' Ep. 1151.

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haughty and as offensive as his dramatic costume. It was a personal punishment to address him. While his royal master was distinguished for his free-hearted affability, he was himself avoided, and hated for his repulsive arrogance [89]. He had not heart enough in himself to interest it in others; and he strove to daunt what he was unable to win, and would not stoop to sooth. Hence he rose without love, and fell without regret [90].

As he stood on no basis but the king's attachment, he omitted no means to secure that. He selected the ablest men who would submit to be his instruments, and placed them near his sovereign to keep others away, and to extol his conduct, removing them when they were likely to be his rivals [91]. He

[89] Erasmus describes him as 'non passim comis aut facilis.' Ep. 353. And sir T. Alen, a priest, thus writes to earl Shrewsbury; 'I delivered your letter with the examination to my lord cardinal, at Guildford, when he commanded me to wait on him to the court. I followed him to the court, and there gave attendance and could have no answer. Upon Friday last, he came from thence to Hampton Court, where he lieth. The morrow after I besought his grace, that I might know his pleasure. I could have no answer. Upon Monday last as he walked in the park at Hampton, I besought his grace I might know if he would command me any service. He was not content with me that I spoke to him. The Sunday before, I delivered the letter which Ralph Leid brought. I can have no answer to neither of both, so that who shall be a suitor to him, may have no other business but to give attendance upon his pleasure. He that shall do so, has needful to be a wiser man than I am; I had rather your lordship commanded me to Rome than deliver him letters and bring answers to the same. When he walks in the park, he will suffer no servant to come nigh unto him, but commands them away as far as one may well shoot an arrow.' Fiddes' Collect. 51.

[90] The cardinal once attempted a sort of justification, not very clear, to Barnes, 'How think you? were it better for me, being in the honor and dignity I am, to coin my pillars and pole-axes, and to give the money to five or six beggars, than for to maintain the commonwealth by them as I do? Do you not reckon the commonwealth better than five or six beggars?' Barnes's Supplication, printed 1534. Wolsey's reasoning intellect must have been much clouded by his vanity, if he really thought that he could not have discharged his state duties without a tall priest carrying before him a silver pillar, or a footman a gilt pole-axe.

[91] Tynd. Prac. One great value of Tyndale's remarks on Wolsey is

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made himself the only channel of honors and advancement, and placed the most faithful of his friends and old companion, the bishop of Lincoln, with the king as his confessor[92], thus securing a knowlege of the most secret movings of the royal mind. CHAP. VII.

At various periods of the year Henry visited the cardinal, for his recreation. No preparations or inventions of art or luxury were then omitted for his entertainment. Whatever pleasures fancy could devise, or expence create; banquets, with masks and mummeries so gorgeous and costly, "that it was a heaven to behold[93];" dames and damsels to dance with the masquers; all kinds of music, and the sweetest harmonies which the union of the manly and youthful voice could utter, were successively exhibited to gratify the royal guest. The king's imagination was as romantic as that of a chivalrous poet, but with a shade of puerility that gave no promise of his future sternness; and his visit was sometimes an acted drama of showy and pleasant fooleries. If Cicero could say he wondered that one augur could meet another augur, without laughing[94], may we not be surprized that the king of England, and its prime nobility, and most dignified churchmen could combine to act such scenes as are described, without deriding each other for their mutual childishness[95]. But the effect of all his ope-

that they were written while he was living, and printed the year he died. His book is dated Marborch 1530.

[92] Ib. [93] Cav. 49. [94] De Divin.

[95] Cavendish describes one he shared in: 'I have seen the king suddenly come thither in a mask, with a dozen other maskers, in garments like shepherds, made of fine cloth of gold and crimson satin: their hairs and beards of fine gold wire, or silver, or some of black silk, with sixteen

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rations on the royal mind was, that they "made the king doat upon him more than ever he did on any lady or gentleman, so that now the king followed him as he before followed the king. What he said, that was wisdom; what he praised, that only was honorable[96]." All foreign powers perceived this extraordinary attachment, and their obsequious civilities to the temporary ministerial sovereign of England appear in the numerous letters yet remaining in the British Museum, which Wolsey received from the various potentates, nobility, dignitaries, and statesmen of Europe. How generally this was felt may be inferred also from the salutation which he received from one of the mob the day he entered Bruges. "Hail! king of thy king, and of his kingdom[97]." His watchful policy was carefully directed to attract the queen's prepossession[98].

torch bearers and drums all in satin.' He came by water without noise, but at his landing, cannon were shot off like thunder, startling the guests with whom the cardinal was sitting under his cloth of state, having his table *alone*, while all the other tables were joined into one. He sent his chamberlain to enquire the cause of the cannon, he was answered, that the ambassadors of some foreign prince had arrived; he directed them to be invited to his banquet; twenty new torches conveyed them into the chamber, two by two, amid a clamorous music of fifes and drums. They saluted all the ladies, and gave them the chance of winning the cups full of gold which they produced, by a cast of dice. It was then whispered to the rest, that there was one person among them so noble, as to deserve the worthiest place. Quoth he, 'Me seemeth, the gentleman with the black beard should be even he,' and rose out of his chair. The king pulled down his visor, addressed them with a pleasant countenance and cheer, went and changed his dress for new and princely garments, while the table was re-served, and all present did the same; he then took his seat under the cloth of state, and partook, with the company, of two hundred dishes, 'wonderous costly and subtilly devised, passing the whole night in feasting, dancing and folly.' Cav. 49–55.

[96] Tynd. Prac. Prel.

[97] 'Salve rex regis tui atque regni sui.' Tynd. ib.

[98] Tyndale affirms, 'In like manner he played with the ladies and gentlewomen; whoever was great with the queen was he familiar to, and

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CHAP. VII.

But altho his severer censors ascribe it to his selfish policy, it was a great merit and national utility that he selected men of talent to be about the court, and in official situations[99]. It was ability loving ability, as well as profiting from the use of it. The consciousness of possessing it kept him from that jealous dread of meeting it which haunts a little mind; and as his preferment of informed intellect, created a demand for it, every part of society that he touched was roused into an emulation to produce it, which multiplied that harvest of clever men which Henry's literary taste also so powerfully excited, and which filled the age of Elizabeth with a copious stream of English genius. It only increased the quantity that he dispersed them into foreign employments as they obtained the royal favor, and supplied their place by new aspirants[100]. That he extracted personal benefit from all that he even laudably did, the tenor of his life evinces[101]; but it is always a great encomium to unite the public advantage with the individual emolument.

to her gave his gifts. If any were subtle witted, and meet for his purpose, he made her betray the queen, and tell him what she said or did. I know one that departed the Court for no other reason than that she would no longer betray her majesty.' Prac. Prel.

[99] 'As he grew in promotion and dignity, so gathered he unto him of the most subtle-witted, and of them that were drunk in the desire of honor, most like unto himself, and after they were sworn, he promoted them, and with great promises made them faithful, and of them even presented to the king.' Tynd. Prac.

[100] If he were in conceit with the king's grace, then he flattered, and persuaded, and corrupted some with gifts, and sent some ambassadors, and some made captains, at Calais, Hannes, Guynes, Jersey and Guernsey, or sent them to Ireland, and into the north, and so occupied them till the king had forgotten them, and others were in their room.' Tynd. ib.

[101] 'By these spies, if aught were done or spoken in the court, or against the cardinal, of that he had word within an hour or two, and then came to court with all his magic to persuade the contrary.' Tynd. ib.

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But amid its many defects, his pride, or his natural feeling of equity, directed him to repress the violences of the rich and great on the poorer orders of the community, by his personal adjudications, till imposition was attempted by false complaints, when he erected four courts to receive and to try them [102]. He punished perjury till he diminished its prevalence [103]. He followed the king's taste in encouraging learning, and patronized some learned men [104], tho in a manner so inconstant and unsatisfactory, as to rouse the moderate mind of Erasmus to retract the commendations he had conferred [105]; but his establishment of a college at Ipswich, and his foundations at Oxford [106], entitle him to be classed among the benefactors of the human mind. He would have been a better if he had been a less prosperous man. He, like Richard III. was deteriorated by his passion for worldly greatness.

In contemplating such an extravagant specimen of human arrogance and vanity as Wolsey in his mature age chose to become, it is delightful and

[102] 'So that the poor men lived quietly, and no man durst bear (upon them) for fear of imprisonment.' Hall, 585.

[103] Hall, 585.

[104] Linacer dedicated to him with many compliments his Latin translations of Galen's De Sanitate and Methodus medendi, 1 Jortin. 6. He invited Ludovicus Vives from Spain to England, in 1523, who lectured at Oxford on humanity and civil law. Knight, 165.

[105] On his never-benefiting promises to Erasmus, and giving him a prebend at Tournay, only to revoke it, without any solicitation, see 1 Jortin's Er. p. 31, 49, 54, 68, 135, and Knight, p. 50. The scholar dedicated to Wolsey, a translation, from Plutarch, (2 Jort. 297.) and his paraphrase on St. Peter and St. Jude. 387.

[106] Fiddes, in his 13th chapter, p. 209–219, notices his seven lectures on theology, and law, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, Greek, rhetoric, and humanity, which he established at Oxford; and in his 25th chapter, 302–15. his two colleges in the same university, and his favorite one at his native city Ipswich.

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consoling to the mind to remember that the most stupendous Being in nature is peculiarly distinguished by the absence of all pride, and by the perpetual practice of that amenity in himself which he has enjoined to his creatures. There is nothing ostentatious or supercilious about him. He expands a mighty creation before our eyes in quiet sublimity, but leaves the operation of its silent grandeur to its own impressions on our unprejudiced sensibility, without projecting himself in personal pomp or dramatic spectacle before us, challenging and compelling an extorted applause. His natural and ordinary appeals to our reason and our feelings are tranquil, intellectual, and unassuming. We must seek him, to find him. We must trace the wondrous hand which is every where discernible, tho always invisible. In his revelations, he calls not for our adulation or our applause. His request, as to himself, is for our love; and as to our own happiness for our obedience to his wise and kind legislation, in order to ensure and perpetuate the felicity we covet. Praise is the natural language of our gratitude and adoration: the presented homage of our judgment. For who can candidly survey the magnificence of nature, the benignity of its provisions, and the skill of its multiform construction, and withhold the hallelujah, the benediction, and the sympathy? The noblest spirits of the most enlightened ages have felt it impossible not to breathe the aspirations of their delighted wisdom, and affectionate veneration; but yet the Sovereign of the Universe never claims by personal ostentation what is indeed of no value, if not the heartfelt and spontaneous

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tribute. Free from all imposing, conceited, and fastidious pride, he displays as his settled character the most condescending kindness; for without this divine quality, would he have deigned to plan and organize animals and insects, whom even we despise, and watch over the robin and the worm as graciously as over man? Nothing is too insignificant for his care, nor too minute for his creation; and nothing, however lowly, is forgotten by his goodness. What a contrast to man! who looks down with contempt on what is inferior, and is so often uneasy till his self-love is gratified by the awe and wonder, the commendations and flattery, which he can extort by domineering arrogance and exerted tyranny; or by the tawdry splendor of manufactured parade!

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CHAP. VIII.

MARRIAGES PROJECTED BETWEEN FRANCIS AND HENRY—COMPETITION FOR THE EMPIRE—WOLSEY ASPIRES TO THE PAPACY—CONTESTED ELECTIONS OF ADRIAN VI. AND AFTERWARDS OF CLEMENT VII.—WOLSEY'S REPEATED DISAPPOINTMENT—WOLSEY'S INTELLECTUAL CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF POLICY—HIS PENSIONS AND PRESENTS FROM FOREIGN POWERS.

CHAP. VIII.

In the year 1518 the two courts of England and France united themselves in bonds of the most affectionate friendship. Francis desired earnestly the re-possession of Tournay, and the alliance of Henry with himself in preference to Charles. The strongest link of union between thrones was in that age deemed a marriage; and Francis exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of bargaining for one with Henry before his child was born. Such a speculation verges upon absurdity; but the instructions yet remain from his minister to his secretary[1], which directs him to open a conditional treaty with Wolsey, that if the French queen, who was expected to be confined, should be delivered of a son[2], he should be married to Henry's daughter, Mary, then but two years old. The child soon afterwards appeared, and was a prince; and in

[1] They are dated 8 April 1518, and are in the MS. Calig. D. 7. p. 1. for the 'arctiore colligatione' of friendship between the two kingdoms.

[2] The envoy was to engage, that as soon as the dauphin should be born, the bishop of Paris would send to Wolsey a faithful messenger to excite him to so holy a work, and that both kings should send ambassadors to meet at Calais or Boulogne, to settle the conditions of the marriage. MS. ib. p. 2.

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July the marriage between the two royal babies was settled by a solemn treaty[3], and Francis obtained the coveted boon that Tournay should be given up to him, on the day of the nuptial celebration, on paying six hundred thousand crowns of gold[4]. Having gained these friendly points, he advanced one step farther. At the end of the month he granted Wolsey a pension of twenty thousand livres Tournois[5]; and before the close of the year, obtained the immediate cession of the town, without waiting the term of the stipulated marriage[6].

A general league for five years was made in the same autumn between France, England, Spain and the emperor, for the mutual guarantee and defence of each other's dominions, which was principally aimed against a Turkish attack[7]; for, debilitated as the Ottoman power has now become, it was then, even in the estimation of able men, the most for-

[3] The articles for this, 9th July 1518, are in the MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 8–12. The spousal was to be made when the dauphin was seven years of age, and the actual marriage when 14. Mary's portion was to be 333,000 crowns of gold. The actual treaty was dated 4th Oct. 1518. Rym. 13. p. 632. 642.

[4] Ib.

[5] MSS. ib. 20. and Rym. 13. p. 610.

[6] Several of the letters in the MS. Cal. D. 7, contain the details on this subject. There is also one from Francis, all in his hand-writing, to Wolsey, which shows that he did not grant so liberally as he obtained: 'As to the two demands which have been put so forward by you, I assure you Mons^r le Cardinal, my good friend, that if they had been such that I could in reason, and without making all my kingdom and subjects discontented, I should, with a very good heart, have liberally acceded to them, but they are impossible and impracticable.' Ib. p. 69.

[7] Dated 2d Oct. 1518. Rym. p. 624. Leo. X. joined this federation. See his bull, ib. p. 601. He had sent cardinal Campegio to Henry, and other envoys elsewhere, to solicit an union for an effective war on the Turks, but the sovereigns would only agree to a defensive league. Wolsey, who sought to turn every occasion into a drama of personal pomp, made the reception of this cardinal one of the theatrical exhibitions of his factitious taste. Hall describes it, 592–4.

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midable empire in Europe[8]. Lavish entertainments announced the gratification of the English court at these treaties[9]; and when English ambassadors went in return of courtly complement to Paris, Francis exhibited his emulating fetes of splendor[10]; and yet tho Parisian taste loves to claim superiority to our own, and altho Francis I. is the king whom his countrymen justly rank nearest to their Louis XIV. in politeness and cultivation, it may be doubted whether Henry's festivities, however liable to the

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[8] Even Charron, who wrote about this time, thus felt its importance: 'The greatest and most flourishing empire now in the world is that of the grand seigneur, who, like the lion of the whole earth, makes himself feared and dreaded by all the princes and monarchs in the world.' La Sagesse, l. 3. c. 14.

[9] These feasts show the fantastic revelry and bad taste of the age; a party was a pantomime with a dull allegory. On 8th October, after a mass and a sermon from the master of the rolls in praise of matrimony, at Greenwich, there was an evening banquet. In the hall was a rock full of artificial stones, and on its top five trees. An olive held a shield, with the arms of the Roman church; a pine-apple with the emperor's; a rose-tree with England's; a branch of lillies had those of France; and a pomegranate Spain's, in token of their joint federation. In the middle of the rock was a fair lady, richly dressed, with a dolphin in her lap. A party of both sexes were seated on its farther part, in crimson satin, with wreaths and hearts of gold. The ladies, with Indian tiaras, and kerchiefs set with Greek letters in bullion gold, edged with hanging pearl. Out of a cave within issued ten armed knights, and fought a fair tournay. The others descended, danced a while, and suddenly vanished in the rock, out of which then came Report, a crimson dressed actor, full of tongues, and mounted on a pegasus, with wings and feet of gold, who explained all the allegories. The banquet contained 200 dishes, besides a 'voydée of spices, with 60 spice plates of silver gilt, as great as men with ease might bear.' The cupboard in the hall had 12 stages, all of plate of gold, and none gilt. Hall, 595. The cardinal gave also a fete of analogous sumptuousness. ib. There is so much gold, that one almost seems to be among the mines of Peru. At Wolsey's there were 36 chief persons, all over covered with cloth of gold, undertied with laces of gold; and the ladies had braids of damask gold, with long hairs of white gold; and three other gentlemen enter, each with a cup of gold, and the first full of angels and royals, with dice and cards in the others to play for the money at mum-chance, with those they chose to favor. Ib.

[10] Hall, 596.

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criticisms of our improved judgment, were not more gentlemanly and more rational than those personal amusements in which the king of France at this season indulged [11].

The death of Maximilian, in January 1519, put the feelings and the friendship and the character of the three greatest princes of Europe to an immediate and searching trial [12]. The imperial crown was elective. The choice rested with seven electors, and the competition was open to every candidate. As it was considered in that age to be the monarchy of Christian

[11] The honest old chronicler's passage is worth citing: 'During this time remained in the French court Nicholas Carew, Francis Brian, and divers other of the young gentlemen of England; and they, *with the French king*, rode *daily* disguised through Paris, *throwing eggs, stones*, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanor of a king was much discommended and jested at. When these young gentlemen came again into England, they were all French in eating, drinking and apparel, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at, and the ladies and gentlemen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, unless it were after the French turn.' Hall, 597. In 1520, we have an analagous specimen of the royal jocularity, and of its possible danger in France on Twelfth day. Francis at Romorentin heard, that on this day, 'the Feast of the Kings,' M. de St. Pol had made in his house, 'un roi de la Feve.' Francis sent a challenge to this king of the day. As much snow fell, St. Pol provided a large quantity of appropriate ammunition of snow balls, apples and eggs, and with these withstood the attack till they were all exhausted. Francis and his friends then broke down the door, but as he was entering, some one in the ardor of the mock defence, threw down a log of wood from a window; it fell on the king's head, and so dangerously wounded him, that for some days the surgeons could not answer for his life. But he had the generous magnanimity never to inquire who had done it, saying, 'If I did a foolish thing myself, I must take my share of its consequences.' The report of his death ran over Flanders, Spain, and elsewhere so confidently, that it was necessary to direct his ambassadors in all the courts to give it an official contradiction. M. Bellay, 89.

[12] He died 22d Jan. 1519. Eight days before, the English envoy, Knight, mentioning to Wolsey his audience with him, writes from Wells in Austria, 'but syth that time of communication his grace is so vanquished with sickness, which was at first a catarrh, and sythens a flux and fever continual, that now every man feareth, and almost despaireth of any recovery. I abide the end.' 1 Ellis, 147.

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Europe [13], the greatness of the dignity was a sufficient temptation for all to aspire who had any chance of success. Charles, as the grandson of the last emperor, was the most natural pretendant. The king of England had been solicited by Maximilian [14], and by the busy cardinal de Sion, to desire it [15]; and Francis fixed his early and passionate determination to obtain it, if intreaty, money, support or power could procure it [16].

Henry communicated to the French court the tidings of the death which he received from the princess Margaret in Flanders, and instructed his ambassador, sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of his future queen, to inquire into the intentions of Francis on the interesting question of the successor, before he communicated his own [17]. The French king

[13] Sir Thomas Boleyn, detailing what he had said to Francis, so puts it; 'For as much as the preferment and election of a new emperor, in whom shall remain, as in name, the monarchie of all Christendom, much toucheth all princes of the same: It is right necessary and requisite, that the consequent thereof, by a politic circumspection, be providently foreseen, and for that cause I showed him,' &c. MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 88.

[14] See before, p. 157.

[15] The French ambassador reported to Francis, that Henry had told him, 'How that he was labored unto by the cardinal of Sion, when he was in England, to have been emperor; and how his highness perceived that it was but for to draw money out of his realm into Almaine, and also to put his person to far travel, if need should be, for business of the empire.' Boleyn's Lett. MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 93.

[16] Fleuranges says, that in Maximilian's lifetime, he and his father were sent to traffic with the electors about it, and had gained three or four. Mem. p. 227.

[17] Boleyn, on 7th February, received his orders, and says, 'The same day as the king came from his mass in his chamber, I delivered him your letters. I shewed him, that as soon as your grace was advertised by the lady Margaret of the death of the emperor, your highness not only remembering the indissoluble knot of perfect love and amity established between your grace and him; and therefore minding, as well in this as in all other matters of importance, not only to know his opinion and advice, but also upon knowlege thereof to advertise him of yours.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 88.

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desired Boleyn to lean out of the window with him, and then informed him, that several of the electors, perceiving Maximilian desirous to have Charles for his successor, had, when he was dying, solicited himself to apply for the dignity; that four had given him a written promise, and that he would omit no exertions to secure it[18]. When he intimated that he understood that the king of England was favorable to him, and would not be a competitor[19], sir Thomas cautiously declined pledging himself to such a conclusion[20]. Francis wrote immediately to Wolsey to solicit the support of him and of his sovereign[21]; and his ambassador explained to Henry his wishes to be emperor[22].

Henry gave no intimation of any intention to compete with him, but stated that he had been strongly solicited for his interest by Charles, and mentioned his refusal of a former urgency to seek the imperial dignity, with expressions that led Francis to believe that he was still indifferent to it[23]. The

[18] MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 88.

[19] 'And very much he rejoiceth in the letters that came from his ambassador out of England, whereby he is advised your highness would help and aid him in this matter, which he reckoneth for a great fardelle near to a surety. Your grace pretendeth not to it yourself, as his ambassador (has signified) to him.' MS. ib. p. 88.

[20] 'Whereto I said that your grace wrote to me (nothing) of this matter, but clearly to know his opinion and advice.' MS. ib. p. 88.

[21] His dispatch is in the same MS. 'I earnestly pray and desire you, Mons. le Legat, my good friend, to do your best that the content of my letter be taken in good part, and that I may find my good brother, cousin and ally propitious, aiding and favorable to me, as I hope.' p. 87.

[22] Boleyn, on 28th Feb. 1519, wrote to Wolsey: 'The king, after he had dined, called me to him, and told me he had had letters out of England from his ambassador there, whereby he perceived that his ambassador had showed to the king's highness all his mind and purpose touching the enterprise that he maketh to be emperor.' MS. ib. 94.

[23] Francis stated, that his ambassador had reported to him these facts, and that Henry, 'out of his own mouth,' said 'he was content with his

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French king explained to sir Thomas Boleyn the operations which, if he should be emperor, he meditated against the Turks, who were then the alarm of Europe[24]; and ten days after, his ambassador received from Henry direct assurances of his favorable disposition[25]. These were in three days more, renewed with greater strength of language, and offers of service[26], and were received by Francis with the most lavish acknowledgment of his grateful feelings[27], and with an ardent expression of his desire for an interview with his royal friend[28]. Strong declarations of attachment from Wolsey to him, produced the suggestion of the papacy to be the cardinal's reward[29]; but a few days afterwards Francis desired his mother to state to the English ambassador, that his minister in Spain had apprised him

estate,' and thought 'surely that the king's highness pretendeth not to the empire.' ib. 94.

[24] Sir Thomas writes, in his MS. letter of 28th Feb. 1519, Cal. D. 8. p. 93, cited by Mr. Ellis; 'I asked him in ernest if he were emperor, whether he would make a voyage against the infidels in his proper person, as the voice went. He took me hard by the wrist with one hand, and laid the other upon his breast, and swore to me by his faith, if he attain to be emperor, that within three years after he would be in Constantinople, or he would die by the way.' p. 147.

[25] See Boleyn's letter of 11th March. MS. ib. p. 88.

[26] On 14 March, Boleyn reports to Henry that he had stated to the French king, 'Wherefore to advance him to the preferment of this imperial dignity, your grace shall be glad to employ yourself, as well by word and writing, as by act and deeds, to the best of your power, *whereupon he may assuredly* trust.' MS. ib. 1 Ellis, 148.

[27] 'Whereunto he, taking off his bonnet, thanked heartily your highness, and said, that the great love and favor which he well perceiveth that your grace beareth towards him, is the greatest comfort that he hath upon earth. And, for the great honor that your grace sheweth to him in advancing him to the imperial dignity, which is his most desire, he saith, he knoweth not how nor by what means he may recompense your highness in doing any thing so much for your grace.' ib. 148.

[28] 'He said, that he is determined to see your grace, tho he should come but himself, his page and his lacquey, and that no business shall let it.' ib. 149.

[29] Boleyn's letter of 14 March, to Wolsey. MS. ib. 98.

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that Henry had sent a letter to the cabinet of Charles, expressly declaring that he had refused to countenance Francis, and that he should prefer the Spanish king to be made the emperor in his stead [30]. On this unexpected charge of duplicity in his government, sir Thomas Boleyn had no other resource but to deny the truth of the diplomatic information [31]; and the French princess politely assured him that she discredited the tale [32].

Francis was sanguine in his expectations. He was doubtful of only three electors out of the seven [33]. He declared he would spend three millions of gold [34], and his presents were abundant [35]; but Charles also purchased the patriotic votes of the electoral college

[30] After mentioning that Francis had made a short excursion, while his queen lay in, sir Thomas, on 25th March 1519, apprises Wolsey what the lady regent had communicated. 'She told me that the king, her son, when he departed, willed her to shew me a letter that came now straight out of Spain from his ambassador there. She called to her treasurer, and bade him shew me that letter; wherein was written by the said ambassador, that the *king's* highness had late *sent a letter* to the king catholic (Charles) advertizing him, how the king here (Francis) had desired the king's highness (Henry), by his letters, to write to the electors of the empire in his favor, the which the king's highness (Henry) hath refused, because of the amity betwixt the king's grace and the king catholic: and how the king's highness hath *rather* that the king catholic were emperor than the king here; which letter he writeth is in the hands of the bishop of Burgos, one of the great council of Spain.' MS. Calig. D. 7. 105. 1 Ellis, 151.

[31] 'When I read this clause, I prayed my lady that she would give no credence to it, and shewed her how I thought that the said ambassador wrote this by information of some malicious persons that would set discord betwixt princes, and that I assured her it was not true.' ib. p. 152.

[32] 'She told me she had so perfect trust in the king my master's honor, that she believed nor would believe no such thing: and no more, she saith, will the king her son. When he read the same clause, he did but laugh at it and gave no credence thereto.' ib. 152.

[33] MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 94. [34] MS. ib. p. 93.

[35] Louisa of France told sir T. Boleyn, that the elector of Cologne had of him 200,000 crowns, and that her son Francis had given 100,000 crowns among them, tho he failed. Bol. Lett. 1 Ellis, 155.

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at a rate which satisfied their consciences[36]; and tho Henry, in May, at last sent an envoy to intimate his own wishes to be a candidate[37], the application was unsuccessful. It appears, while the English government so strongly assured France of its support, Pace, its German envoy, gave sufficient countenance to the ambassadors of Charles to receive their thanks for his services[38]. Animated discussions had occurred in the electoral diet[39]. Duke Frederic of Saxony opposed Francis, and recommended Charles. The electors decided on offering the contested crown to Frederic himself. He declined it, and again urged Charles to be their choice[40], who, on 3th July 1519, was announced from the pulpit at Frankfort as the elected emperor[41].

There was a frankness and a boldness about

[36] Pace, in his letter of 12th June, states that four of the electors had of Charles '50,000 ducats of gold truly paid unto each of them.'

[37] When Pace announced Henry's pretensions, the ecclesiastical electors told him, that if they had been earlier pursued, he might have been elected, but that they were now pre-engaged. His letter of 20th June, cited by Herb. 92.

[38] He writes to Wolsey from Mechlin, 27th July, 'I have this day had very large thanks for that I have done in Almagne for the king catholic in the last election.' 1 Ellis, 157.

[39] Card. Cajetan, on 29th June 1519, sent Leo. X. an account of the speech of the archbishop of Mentz against Francis, which reminded the electors that both their law and oath forbad them to elect a foreigner, and also of the arguments of the prelate of Treves for Charles, and the duke of Saxony's speech, that by their laws Francis could not be elected, but Charles might. Lett. de Principe, 1–5.

[40] On 5th July, the same cardinal wrote, that from 29th June the electors had been closely consulted; that the duke had magnanimously refused the offered empire, and given his vote for Charles, rejecting at the same time a large sum of money which the ministers of Charles presented to him, and strictly forbidding his people to take any thing. c. 7.

[41] Letters, ib. p. 7. The English court professed to be glad when the election was decided in favor of Charles. The populace made great bonfires; and the Italians, Dutchmen and Spaniards gave 'great plenty of wine for these news.' Hall, 599.

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Henry's character, amid all his love of knightly prowess, gaudy apparel, and fantastic diversions, which disincline us to believe that he would of his own ungoverned mind have played the double game alluded to in the letters of sir Thomas Boleyn; and, the ambassadors, not communicating the charge to the king, as he did his conference with Francis, but to Wolsey, tempts a suspicion that he thought so too; but it exactly suited the ambi-dexter system on which the cardinal conducted all his diplomatic procedures, as well as his contriving policy to reach the papal chair.

Wolsey aspires to the Papacy.

He was now earnestly looking forward to that last and highest peak of the mountain of his ambition, and doing all that human cunning, in a commanding situation, could do to secure it. For this purpose, it was essential that he should keep both Francis and Charles, however differing, his friends, because their joint support would make the popedom a certain acquisition, and the enmity of either might disappoint his hopes. The addition of the imperial influence to either prince would almost ensure the triple crown to the cardinal whom such a sovereign should favor. Hence his difficulties and his labyrinthine politics. Henry's natural impulses preferred Francis to Charles: Wolsey's interest required most the friendship of the latter. Thus aspiring, and thus circumstanced, he may have sent those secret assurances of support from the English cabinet to Charles, which that cabinet made no hesitation to reveal; if it had been an honest transaction, we might have said, to betray, so immediately to the king of France.

At what period Wolsey first raised his own spe-

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culations to the papal chair, no documents precisely evince; but that in March 1519 the king of France invited him to look forward to it, appears from the private letter of sir Thomas Boleyn to the cardinal, which details to him the suggestions of Francis on this stimulating subject[42]. The king, in this conversation, proposed it as a new idea[43], and as a bait to ensure the cardinal's interest with Henry to support his own pretensions to the imperial crown[44]. Such an intimation makes it doubtful whether the scheme did not originate rather with Francis than with Wolsey, unless the king had penetrated the prelate's interior thoughts, and reflected them to him[45]; but

[42] It is dated 14th March, and was written in 1519. 'The great master took me by the arm and led me into a little low house where the king dined. As soon as he rose from dinner, he came to me and bade me come to him in his bedchamber, and with him the great master and Robertet and no more.' Boleyn first presented the king's dispatches, and 'that done, I delivered to him a letter from your grace,' which brought on the particular conversation. MS. Calig. D. 7. p. 98.

[43] He saith, 'that in recompence for that ye have done for him and trusteth *will do for him*, and for the singular love and favor which he beareth to your grace, and considering that ye be a man of the church, and one of the greatest and most principal, he thinketh it is in the king's highness (Henry) and in him to do you much good, which he promiseth by the word of a king to do for your grace, if it please you to accept it.' MS. ib. These words, and what follow, certainly imply that Francis thought he was suggesting a new proposition.

[44] Sir Thomas proceeds, 'And thus he hath desired me to write to you, that if it please you to pretend to be the head of the church, if per case any thing should fall of the pope, he saith he will assure you full fourteen cardinals for him. He will also of the companies which be in division, the Colonnois and the Ursyns at Rome, assure you the whole company of the Ursyns. He reckoneth also a great help of one he calleth a valiant man and of great reputation there, Marc Antyn de Colompne: and finally assuredly reckoneth that now the king's highness and he be all one, that there shall neither emperor nor pope be made but such as pleaseth them.' But Francis took care to intimate what he expected in return. 'He also told me that this offer that he maketh your grace, proceedeth of perfect love and inward trust that he hath in the king's highness.' MS. ib. 98.

[45] That there was some secret idea in Wolsey's mind three months before the conference, not communicated, we learn from the letter of the bishop of Ely, who had been sent ambassador with Lord Worcester;

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that once conveyed into his mind, it would inflame it with an inextinguishable ambition to gain the prize thus offered to him, and to pursue every assistant measure that would promote its attainment, the aspiring temper of Wolsey precludes us from questioning. Francis may have devised it as a lure to separate Wolsey from his competitor Charles; but the future dispatches of Pace declare that it did not prevent the English cabinet from allowing its foreign ambassadors to countenance Charles, notwithstanding the preferring regard which the cardinal, by his chaplain, in the preceding year[46], and by sir Thomas Boleyn, at this juncture, in terms of serious pledging, professed to feel towards the French king[47], who had chosen to express the most extravagant opinion of him[48].

and others to him, dated Paris, 18th December 1518. 'My Lord, I had forgotten one thing. Amongst other conversations had with the French king, I shewed him that you had one thing in your mind to shew his highness which *ye would open to no man but to himself*, at your special meeting; adjoining to the same, how desirous your grace was to see him, whereon he answered that he was desirous to see your grace as any man living, the king only excepted. And that ye kept somewhat secret to be showed by yourself. He said, ye did very well, for he did likewise himself.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 59.

[46] The same bishop of Ely who subscribes himself, 'Your chaplain and daily bedesman,' writes on 18th December 1518, to Wolsey, of Francis, thus: 'While the chamberlain and my company were talking, the king sent for me into a chamber apart, where I delivered your letters; he read them: I shewed him how heartily your grace thanked him, to have had so great affiance and trust in you; for the which trust and affiance your grace had conceited in your heart and mind *such a love* and favor towards his highness *above* all other princes, that ye would from henceforth be glad to do him all the pleasure and service that ye might do, your grace's honor and duty to your master always saved.' MS. ib. p. 85.

[47] Boleyn, on 14th March 1519, mentions to Wolsey, that after delivering his private letters about the empire to Francis; 'I told him, in that behalf, that next unto the king's highness, (Henry) your grace would always do unto him *above all other princes*, the honor, service, and pleasure that may lie in your power, and as much ye shall tender his exaltation well and surely, as any other shall do, as by the experience he shall right well perceive.' MS. Cal. ib. 98.

[48] His words remind us of the phrase of one of our own noble dukes,

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What passed between Wolsey and the court of Charles on the suggestion of Francis, and whether the perfidious encouragement of the Spanish prince which preceded it, had been accompanied by the cardinal's revealment of the secret idol of his ambition, which the French king had only unveiled when he seemed to be creating it, no existing records enable us to discover; but the cardinal's double dealing on the subject, distinct from his sovereign, may be inferred from his own private letters being delivered at the same interview, but apart from those of the king; from the peculiar conversation that arose upon them, referring only to himself; and from this being made a separate dispatch particularly to him [49].

Pope Leo, tho often unwell [50] enough to cause these projects to be formed in 1519 to succeed him, did not die till two years afterwards [51]; but that the imperial family had been urged before by the cardinal to advance him, is clear from the letters, in December 1521, of Margaret, who governed Flan-

that Mr Pitt was a heaven-born minister. Ely added, 'To this, he lovingly answered, that he perceived you were a man *ordained of God*, for the common (good), and that he would so order that ye should well perceive it was not done to an unkind prince.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p 58.

[49] There is a suspicious instance of double and separate dispatches in MS. Galba, B. 7. When sir Richard Wingfield, in February 1522, had an audience with the emperor at Brussels, he dispatched two letters upon it, *both* to Wolsey, and *both dated on the same day*. The one stated what passed, and is such as might be produced to Henry; the other recited what the emperor said about Wolsey's aspiration to the papacy, as if to be read apart by him, without being communicated to the king. Compare MS. p. 4 and 6.

[50] On 3d September 1520, the bishop of Worcester reported from Rome to Wolsey, the pope's dangerous illness. His Letter, MS. Vitell. B. 4. p. 67.

[51] His relation, the card. de Medici, on 24th Dec. 1521, sent Henry the news of his death with the bull for his title of 'Defender of the Faith.' His orig. Lett. MS. Vit. B. 4. p. 209.

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ders for Charles, to Wolsey on the subject. In one she acquaints him with Leo's death, and asks if she shall apply to her nephew Charles in his behalf[52]. Two days afterwards she assures him of the emperor's readiness to serve him in his election[53], and soon afterwards again writes to express her desire to see him placed in the papal chair[54]. On the day after this last letter, Charles V. himself apprized Wolsey that he had written to Rome on his behalf[55]; and there is a Latin letter of the emperor's still existing, of the same month, to his ambassador at Rome, directing him to solicit the cardinals to elect Wolsey to the popedom[56]; a design which Henry seems also to have favored, and sent commissioners to realize[57]. As Francis thought that Wolsey, in his character of diplomatic arbiter at Calais, had favored his rival, there is neither evidence nor likelihood that he took any active steps to ensure the elevation of a man whom he believed was betraying him[58].

[52] His original French letters, dated Ouderarde, 15th December 1521. MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 353.

[53] This letter is dated Ghent, 17th Dec. 1521. MS. Galba, B. 6. p. 89.

[54] Also from Ghent, 27th Dec. 1521. MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 354.

[55] His original French, dated Ghent, 28th Dec. is in MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 160.

[56] This is in MS. Vitell. B. 4. p. 222.

[57] Wolsey, in his letters to Henry, in 1523, of 30th Sept. and 1st Oct. 1523, printed in Fiddes, App. 81. reminds the king that he had been minded to have preferred him to the papacy in 1521, and mentions the commissions which had been then sent to Pace for that purpose. ib:

[58] Sir Will. Fitzwilliam, relating to Wolsey his audience with Francis, in January 1522, reports; 'I said to him, to feel partly what he would say, 'I beseech our Lord to send us now a good pope, for thereof we have much need;' he answered, 'I would Monsieur le Cardinal were there, for he were the most meetest man to be pope, howbeit,' he said, 'he would not that your grace should be from about the king's highness, having the credit with him that ye have.' It was a spy of sir William's in the court, who mentioned to him the bitterness of Francis against the cardinal de Medici. MS. Calig. D. 8. p. 195, 6.

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He only discovered an anxiety to exclude the cardinal de Medici, as his greatest enemy [59]. This was effected; but tho part of the conclave favored Wolsey [60], the result was a painful and unsatisfactory disappointment by the election of Adrian, the ancient tutor, and personal friend of Charles V. [61] Such a choice staggered the mind of the English prelate. The imperial promises to him so lavish! and yet the person preferred obviously an imperial partisan. Was this accident, or purposed evasion? The official despatches of the English ambassador have opened some of the secrets of the conclave prison-house to our curiosity.

Few elections of the supreme pontiff had been so strongly contested as that which ended in the elevation of Adrian VI. The struggle in the conclave lasted fourteen days [62]. The cardinals entered their temporary prison in two great factions—the imperial and the French,—who contended with each other to have a pope that would be most pliable to the interest of his electors. The first person proposed for the dignity was the cardinal de Medici. A part of the imperial cardinals favored him; but the rest joining with the French side firmly against him, his appointment was resolutely negatived. Two cardinals, whom de Medici supported because he could

[59] MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 196.

[60] The cardinals de Medici and Sion appear to have been busy in his favor. See MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 1–15.

[61] He was the cardinal of Tortosa, and signing as such, on 2d February 1522, wrote to Wolsey, to signify his own election, and to desire the English minister to promote the harmony that existed between Henry and the emperor. MS. Vit. B. 5. p. 32.

[62] The following facts are taken from Jonas Clark's dispatch to Wolsey, dated Rome, 15th January 1522. MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 15. The conclave began 27th December, and ended 9th January.

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have governed them, shared the same fate. Other names were voted upon of persons more unbiassed in their politics; but were also rejected. The cardinal Farnese then thought he could have carried the triumph. He had eighteen voices immediately, but Colonna turned the scale against him. He struggled on, and reached to twenty-two votes, but could not get beyond that number, and at every succeeding scrutiny his supporters were found to lessen, till he became hopeless, and withdrew. It was at this period that Wolsey was proposed by his friends as an indifferent and very fit person. He stood three divisions of the conclave. On the first he had only nine votes, on the second he had twelve, and on the third a still larger number, but less than twenty; beyond this he could not advance. Three objections were made to him: First, He was too young: Secondly, He would adhere to truth, execute justice firmly, would repress the licentiousness of the Roman court, and therefore that his discipline was to be dreaded: Thirdly, He was not supposed to be very favorable to the emperor[63]. Others suggested, that if chosen, he would make England, not Rome, the seat of his pontificate. The protracted sessions of this venerated body were distinguished and disgraced by the most violent altercations[64]. Ten times

[63] Clark's Dispatch. MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 16.

[64] The ambassador's own words, who was afterwards bishop of Bath, will best describe this. 'It should be long, to write to your grace the repeated chidings, brawlings, and scoldings between these cardinals; and of their great schisms, dissensions; and the malicious, unfaithful, and uncharitable demeanor, one of them against the other; which every day increased while they were in the conclave.' MS. ib. p. 16. He adds, 'If it had not chanced at the last season, it was not likely that we should have had a pope for a great season; for there was a sect that intended to do nothing but to destroy and to lette.' MS. ib.

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they proceeded to ballot, and as often the inspections showed that the negations prevailed against all that were proposed. At length a part of the imperialists suddenly proposed Adrian, the cardinal of Tortosa, and fifteen voices appeared in his favor. These were too few to avail; but on being again proposed, four more of the Medicean band added their support. This accession led others to suspect that there was secret bias acting on his side, and several who had voted for others, in order "to get thanks by their timely coming in[65]," suddenly added their votes, so that when the eleventh scrutiny took place, twenty-six voices were found to have declared for him. Instantly the determining words were uttered, "Papam habemus!" "We have a pope!" for this number formed the requisite quantity, out of the thirty-eight, who were present. The French faction were astonished at the event; but it was now unalterable, and submitting to the necessity, they joined in the acclamation, no one having expected, when the last scrutiny began, that Adrian could have had the least chance of success[66].

It was on the 9th January 1522, that this election was thus decided[67], after the cardinals had endured a series of privations, which the English ambassador described with minute fidelity, for the amusement of his king, and for the instruction of the prime

[65] Clark. MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 16.

[66] Clark mentioning Medici's pretending to have fixed on Adrian, says, 'but they may say what they will, I am credibly informed when the last scrutiny began, it was no more thought that it should have taken any for this man, than for me.' MS. ib. p. 17.

[67] Campejo transmitted the unwelcome news to Wolsey in a Latin letter on the same day. MS. p. 7.

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minister[68]. Adrian was a man who till this event had been unknown at Rome, and who had not been

[68] J. Clark's dispatch from Rome of 4th January in MS. Vitell. p. 5, gives so curious and so authentic a detail of the proceedings of the conclave, in the election of this pope, that we think our readers will be gratified by our transcribing some of the circumstances, as they fully display the mode in which the pontiffs are chosen, and are not to be met with elsewhere. 'On St. Thomas's day, the cardinals met all together, and sang the mass of the Holy Spirit; and after a sermon in Latin, they went singing towards the place of their conclave. Each took possession of a cell in it. After much dissensions, the conclave was made in the pope's palace, in the place accustomed.

'The cells were each of them 16 feet in length, and 10 in breadth. They have as much room within the said conclave, as in the king's and the queen's great chambers for their dining chambers; the chapel and the gallery thereunto is green; whereby their cells be all together in a chapel which is there within.

'After the possession taken of their cells, they depart to dinner into such sundry places as each of them, after their own appetites, had caused to be prepared for them. After dinner, two hours before night, they meet all together in a chapel in the conclave, at which time were called in the princes, orators, lords, prelates, and other noblemen, to whom the custody of the conclave was to be committed. Before them was read a solemn bull made by Pope July, wherein were many special provisions to exclude all manner of simoniacal practices. The cardinals then swore to observe this bull; and oaths were then given to all the others to see faithfully to the custody of the conclave.'

Three wards were then appointed. 'The uttermost was that of the barons and lords of Rome. The second, the princes' orators; and the third, certain prelates who were elected, who also kept the keys of the conclave. After our departure, the cardinals still remained in the said chapel awhile. It was two hours of the night ere it was shut up; each had three servants, and the sick his physician.' The ambassadors then present, were those of England, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Venice, Milan, the Emperor, and other Italian cities. The French ambassador comes little abroad since Milan was lost, and hath been sick ever since the prise of Tournay, except in the night, when he went about his practices concerning this election.

'The charge that the ward has to see, is, that there be no violent invasion made to the cardinals, and they have ——— footmen, Swiss, and 2,000 others. The chief charge of the orators and prelates, is to see that there be no letters sent out nor into the conclave; so that we search their meat, their pots, and their platters. If they agree not after three days, we may diminish their fare, and at last keep them at bread and wine. Their meat and drink be delivered to them at a round turning which is made in the wall; as I am sure your grace hath seen in religious places that be inclosed.

'The first night every thing was quiet. The next day it was noised that for all our custody, there were watch words and tokens given by them that were within, that it went not well for the cardinal de Medici.

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spoken of, but who had been the tutor of Charles, and was at that time his chief minister in Spain. Every one in the city was vexed and disappointed at the unexpected choice[69], and the populace displayed an irritated and vindictive spirit[70]. Their great dread was that he might remove the seat of the papacy into Spain or Germany, as other popes had fixed it at Avignon[71]. His long stay in the Spanish peninsula increased this apprehension. He did not leave it till the middle of summer; but arriving at last at Hostia, in the beginning of September[72], he entered the disquieted city with such primitive and conscientious humility, that the better

The second day the same opinion continued, and that there was great likelihood for the cardinal St. Clements, a Roman of 72, meet to be pope some other time when the church shall have need to care for nothing, but only for the spiritualities.

'The third day, three cardinals desired the doors of the conclave to be opened, that they might avoid such filth as they had there within of the fragments of the meat and drink, the savour whereof was so great, that they could not abide it.

'This request was reasoned upon by the wards, who concluded, that as they might avoid their meat, &c. by the draft, there was no occasion to open the conclave. The doors were therefore not opened.

'On the fourth day, the first diminishing of their meat was made, and that was, that each should chuse whether they would have all roast, or all sodden.

'The same day at night, the cardinal G——, a man of 60, who came rom Venice by post to the election, went into the conclave sick, and was had out almost dead.

'This Thursday, the second day of the new year, and the sixth day since the cardinals have been in the conclave, they were suffered to have but one manner of meat, but each may chuse what.

'Upon such watch word as cometh from them, they make every day a new pope. There appeareth great debate and dissension among them. It will be hard for them to agree.' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 1–5.

[69] So J. Clark states in the above-mentioned letter.

[70] On 28th January, Clark wrote, 'None of the cardinals here dare move one foot out of his house for fear of the people, which hourly crieth out against them by reason of their said election.' MS. ib. p. 30.

[71] So Clark mentions in his despatches.

[72] On 8th September T. Hannibal reported to Wolsey, 'that on 5th August, the pope had departed from Tarragona, and 28 days after came to dinner at Hostia.' MS. ib. p. 93.

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sensibilities of the populace were affected, and they cheered his presence with the cordial acclamations of the approving heart[73]. He found the popedom involved by Leo X. in a debt of seven hundred thousand ducats[74].

The conduct of Wolsey on this vacancy was remarkably meandering, crooked and contradictory. We have his own assertion that the king had sent to Pace commissions for exertion in his favor[75]; and yet he induced Henry also to despatch his secretary with solicitations in behalf of the cardinal de Medici[76], while he himself expressed to the ambassador whom he had placed at Rome, that he would not accept the coveted dignity[77]. The secretary, however, that went to befriend de Medici, so managed that his letters reached Rome too late so serve him[78]; and this cardinal and that of Sion so fully

[73] Roper thus notices it in his Life of More. 'Coming on foot to Rome, before his entry into the city, he did put off his hose and shoes, and barefooted and bare-legged, passed thro the streets towards his palace with such humbleness, that the people had him in great reverence.' p. 30.

[74] Hannibal, letter, p. 93. Clark had also remarked, that the cardinals 'begin to perceive they should have chosen a pope of some great reputation, and him that had substance for to help the church which is brought into extreme decay *by reason of the* late wars sustained by Pope Leo X.' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 30.

[75] See before, p. 214.

[76] Clark says, 'I have been with the cardinal de Medici, and shewed him the king's highness had sent his secretary by the post with letters to the college, and divers other cardinals, for *his* preferment to this dignity.' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 17.

[77] He writes that the cardinals Medici, Campejo and Sion assured him, 'That if the king's pleasure had been known, and that your grace would have accepted the crown, the matter should have taken effect; for the advancement whereof I did not greatly labor before their entry into the conclave, because your grace, at my departure, shewed me precisely that *you would never meddle therewith.*' MS. ib. p. 16.

[78] Clark adds, 'The secretary being let by the way, and thro feebleness not able to come, had sent me hither the said letters.' The cardinal

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understood Wolsey to desire the triple crown, that each made a merit of their exertions in his favor[79]. This double dealing, whatever was its object, only contributed to his disappointment.

Wolsey was mortified at the result; but ambitious pride survives repeated wounds; and courtly policy, with its tongue of blandishment, encouraged it to persevere. Charles ingeniously suggested, thro the English ambassador at his court, that tho a pope had been chosen who was in his interests, yet that he was old and infirm, and that Wolsey should have his next support[80]. The cardinal was pacified, and continued to watch and hope, and to plan succeeding

answered, 'If they had come in season, they should have been of no small moment.' MS. Vit. B. 5. p. 17.

[79] On 23d January, Pace wrote from Florence to Wolsey, that the cardinal de Medici affirmed, 'That he, in every scrutiny that was made in the conclave, did give his voice unto your grace, and so did seventeen or eighteen of his friends.' MS. ib. p. 26. And the cardinal Sion mentioned, 'The greater number would not consent, alleging that your grace would never come to Rome if ye had been elected.' MS. ib. p. 28.

[80] It was on 11th February 1522, that in the separate and private dispatch, already alluded to in note 49, sir Richard Wingfield thus reported to Wolsey; 'On the 8th I had audience of the emperor, and your grace may be sure he failed not to inquire of me right affectionately of your good health and prosperous estate in most gentile and familiar manner. And when, in my best manner, I had made your loving and hearty thanks for his gracious writings in your favor to Rome, his majesty made answer, 'That he is much more beholden to thank you, than ye to thank him: and, as touching his writings, he assured me that he never wrote for no cause with better will, nor would more gladly have obtained his desire.

'And furthermore, that notwithstanding the pope which is now chosen is the man which is esteemed to be as propice for all his affairs, more than many other of the college can be esteemed; yet, for the parts that his majesty esteemeth to be in the person of your grace, he could have been right well content that the lot had fallen unto you. He *considered that the new elect* is both old, sickly and far from Rome, so that his majesty judges he shall not hold the office long. Wherefore his majesty prayeth you, in most hearty manner, that ye *will cherish yourself*, and have *his causes and necessities as sureties* for being recommended, as he intendeth verily, when the case shall require, to do his best for your advancement in that matter.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 6.

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measures with his king and the emperor to ensure to himself the future nomination[81]. Before two years of his dignity had passed, on 14th September 1523 Adrian expired[82]. No measures were now omitted by Wolsey to place himself in the long coveted chair. He communicated the event immediately to Henry, and reminded him of former intentions in his own favor; intimated that he should devise the proper instructions and commissions for his advancement, and the next day informed the king that he had done so, and sent him for his private signature, a confidential letter to the emperor to secure his promised aid[83]. On the 4th October, he wrote a long and earnest despatch to the English ambassadors at Rome[84], assuring them that it was Henry's "entire desire, above all earthly things, that he should attain to the dignity, and that they should use every discreet exertion for accomplishing that object;" but with a deceptive dissimulation that reveals at once the mental character of Wolsey's statesmanship, he desires them to tell the cardinal de Medici, whose competition he feared, that the king and himself wished that prelate to be chosen; and they were as such publicly to recommend him to the

[81] Wolsey says in his letter, referred to in note 30, 'The emperor and king's grace, *as well before* the time of the last vacation *as sithence*, by mouth and by letters, with report of ambassadors and otherwise, had many sundry conferences, communications and devices in that behalf.'

[82] The original letter of Clark, bishop of Bath, on 14th September 1523, dispatched from Rome to Wolsey, with an account of the pope's last illness and death on that day, is in MS. Vit. B. 5. p. 201-2. He afterwards, on 24th October and 7th November, reported to him what had occurred at Rome and in the conclave. MS. ib. p. 210. 216.

[83] Fidd. 81.

[84] It has been printed in the Appendix to Burnet, Hist. Reform. v. 2. p. 193; and by Fiddes, App. p. 83-8.

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whole college of cardinals. If they perceived that he had too many enemies to succeed, then they were to solicit his interest for Wolsey, and to suggest that every thing should be according to his desire, for the honour of himself and family, if the English cardinal were elected [85]. Having thus tried to neutralize or to gain him, they were to deliver the king's letters to the other cardinals, with intimations that he did not lack substance or liberality to look largely upon his friends, and that there would be sundry great promotions which would become vacant by his advancement, to be disposed of unto such of the college as by their true and fast friendship deserved them [86]. "By these and other good means and promises" he adds, "on the king's behalf of large rewards, which his highness referreth to your discretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein, it is not to be doubted but that ye shall obtain the favors of many of them [87]." He ended his first instructions with giving them this alternative: "If they thought de Medici was certain to be elected, they were to assist him, doing for Wolsey all that they could without the imputation of ingratitude or unkindness;" but if he was not "in such great likelihood thereof," they were to win as many friends for the English cardinal as possible [88]. For this purpose, they had two commissions for pecuniary corruption [89], which he urged them to exert in the

[85] Burnet, App. p. 195. Fiddes.
[86] Ib.
[87] Ib. 196.
[88] Ib. p. 197.
[89] 'The one general for me and in my favor, by the which you have ample authority to bind and promise on the king's behalf, *as well gift of promotions*, as also *large sums of money* to as many and such as you shall think convenient.' ib, 196.

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most unhesitating manner[90]. Whatever might have been Charles's wish, or was his secret conduct, he wrote ostensibly to Rome in Wolsey's behalf[91]; but all the cardinal's subtlety, simony and influence, failed, tho he had been so sanguine as to assure Henry that his absence from Rome could alone disappoint his hopes[92].

The cardinals were again divided into factions in the conclave, and contended fiercely with each other for the pope that would most suit the interests of the party whose organs they came to be[93]. Thirty-nine assembled. But among these diverging sects two principal classes prevailed; and these, as before, were the imperial and the French. The cardinal de Medici again headed seventeen or eighteen, devoted to his wishes, which all the rest as stoutly opposed, and among these, the cardinal Colonna was the foremost. The French faction was so combined and

[90] He added in his own handwriting, as if something more earnest or more private, this expressive postscript; expressive both of himself unveiled and of the sacred college; 'Not sparing any reasonable offers, which is a thing that amongst so many needy persons is more regarded, than, percase, the qualities of the person. Ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean. Trust yourself best; and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which, say what they will, desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit great dexterity is to be used. The king thinketh that all the imperials shall be clearly with you if faith be in the emperor. The young men, for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers. The king willeth you neither to spare his authority, or his good money or substance.' Burn. App. p. 197. Fid. 88. The original of this is in the British Museum.

[91] The emperor's letter to Wolsey, dated Pampeluna, 16th December 1523, assuring him that he had done so, in the original French, and all his own handwriting, is in MS. Vitell. C. 2. p. 226.

[92] 'Mine absence from thence shall be the only obstacle, if any be, in election of me to that dignity.' Fid. Ap. 80.

[93] It is the despatch of the three English ambassadors at Rome, Clark, Pace and Hannibal, of 2d December 1523, that admits us into the secrets of this conclave. MS. Vitel. B. 5. p. 229.

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determined that Medici was again defeated[94], and almost in despair; but as no pope could be appointed unless on twenty-six concurrent votes, which would amount to two-thirds of the thirty-nine, he saw that if he were not chosen himself, he could, if his friends adhered firmly to him, prevent any other person from being nominated in his stead. On this point he fixed his decision. His supporters promised to be unshaken, and resolved that there should be no pope if Medici were disappointed. Assured of their constancy, he also reasoned that some of the others, seeing this determination, might at last come over to him[95]. The battle was stoutly fought. Fourteen days of struggle had occurred before Adrian had been appointed; but on the present occasion thirty-seven days of conflict had ensued, when the English ambassadors wrote to Wolsey, that "both factions do still continue their pertinacity; neither have yet inclined to the other[96]." Medici was named only to be rejected; Colonna was disappointed, and tried to get a worthy man, the cardinal Jacobatius, selected; and as the French party consisted of twenty-two, he urged them to acquiesce, and proposed to Medici to add the requisite four more from his stanch band. But the French leaders declared that they durst not for their lives support an imperial prelate, and Medici asserted, that "he would rather

[94] 'This contrary part had in special commission upon their lives, never to consent but to one of this faction.' MS. Vit. B. 5. p. 229.

[95] Therefore 'with marvellous patience bore with it.' MS. ib.

[96] Letters of same ambassadors, dated 7th November. MS. ib. p. 216.

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die in that prison than condescend to his capital enemies the French[97];" but he came at last to a provisional agreement with Colonna to support Jacobatius, on a promise that if he were rejected, Colonna's friends should vote for himself. The French party discovered this intrigue, and practised a whole day with the other cardinals, and endeavored to excite the mob to rise and overawe the conclave[98]. This failed; and the scheming conflict lasted for the extraordinary period of forty-nine days, when the stubborn perseverance of de Medici prevailed.

On the 19th November 1523, the clamor of the Roman nobles and of the populace at the window of their great chamber, inveighing against the nomination of a stranger, determined the wearied conclave to give the legal majority of their voices to the persevering de Medici[99], who, in an happy hour for the religious emancipation of the English mind, and thereby for its own improvement, and the general benefit of the world, assumed the popedom, with the name of Clement VII. Wolsey had been proposed, but instantaneously rejected. He was unpopular among the cardinals, and was manifestly not supported by either Charles or Francis[100]. But altho

[97] Their letter of 2d December. MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 230–3.

[98] Lett. 7th Nov. 'They have caused the Romans to come to the conclave door with exclamations against the cardinals.' MS. ib.

[99] So Wolsey informed the king in his letter of 7th Dec. printed in Fiddes, p. 82.

[100] The ambassadors thus described to him his failure, 'It is true that during the discord and dissension among them, your grace's friends did attempt and made at sundry times motions effectually for your preferment, sed semper parum feliciter, for the multitude of them would never incline thereunto, ne hear of it.' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 233.

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again defeated, he professed to rejoice at it[101], and neither desponded of his prize nor abandoned its pursuit, for we find him again, five years afterwards when the pope was attacked by a severe indisposition[102], actually writing to the English ambassadors at Rome, reminding them that the pope's death would be a great detriment to the king's affairs; that the next election would be of great importance to them; that no one ought to be chosen that would be adverse, and that he had repeatedly admonished them by his letters what they ought to do for his promotion[103]. He strongly urged this event in his letter to Gardiner, and the king himself sent instructions to his ambassadors to enforce the same object[104].

Having contemplated, in the preceding chapter, the cardinal's manners and habits, we may consider, for a few moments, his mental qualities and their real size. When we review the mass of his correspondence with so many of the princes, statesmen, ambassadors, and men of business in Europe; and observe the active and laborious thought which was continually working within him, we feel that we are contemplating the exertions of a powerful and energetic spirit: but when we see him also as intensely studying the most ostentatious parade, we can scarcely avoid surprize that such intellectual

[101] See his letter in Fiddes. App. 88–96.
[102] See Wolsey's letter in Burnet, App. vol. 1. p. 53.
[103] Burnet, Ref. 1. p. 48. App. has printed it from Vitell. B. 10. p. 72. It is dated 6th February 1528–9.
[104] See Wolsey's letter of 7th Feb. 1529, to Gardiner, in Harl. MSS. No. 283. p. 105; and Henry's Instructions, p. 116.

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energies should seek so anxiously either gratification or magnitude from mere laborious and fastidious pomp. He might have been truly great without this frippery; his station, his power, his influence, his abilities, his honest exertions, were every day silently exhibiting him to be such. By these, without a word or gesture from himself, he rose to be superior to all but his sovereign; and that sovereign was for many years singularly subservient to his secret and magical government. What more was necessary even for his personal exultation? what could enhance it but the crown upon his own brow? and yet, as if insensible to the sources of his real grandeur, he stepped out of them to create a factitious and unpopular one, from the trappings which the labor of the humblest members of society, and their silks, velvets, colors, and metals, could fabricate. He lessened the effect of the indisputable aggrandizement of intellect and virtue, by pursuing that deceiving show of invented superiority, which artisans, machinations, and gaudy menials are supposed to produce, and which compels the mind to question if he had real claims to any other. Shall we say, that whether we are large or small, the mind feels a desire of something greater than it is, and in a vain trial to equalize itself with its emotions, searches in pomp and semblance for the superiority it covets? It is certain that Wolsey, dissatisfied with his genuine self, sought every day to live in a misty artificial state. He chose never to be seen in his natural features and size; but, from the hour he waked to that in which he slept, he preferred to make

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himself an optical deception of whatever would most externally magnify, even tho it should distort. The truth is, that altho Wolsey grew up to manhood with powers and faculties which, if rightly used, would have placed him among those elevated and selected characters whom we agree to call great men; he so soon spoilt and misdirected himself that he never became such. Pride, arrogance and vanity, the destroyers of all moral grandeur, misled him so often into egotism and dissimulation; to mercenary bargains and to wily or double-dealing politics, that the natural giant could not permanently remain so; but fell at last broken and unpitied, like the mighty image whose vast limbs, from the clay that was mingled w ith their iro, had no continuous strength, and no substantial foundation.

During his predominance in the royal councils, the reign of Henry VIII. may be denominated a reign of foreign embassies, for under no preceding sovereign had so many ambassadors been sent out, and so many negociations carried on by the English government, as occurred while Wolsey was prime minister. The spirit of his administration was peculiarly diplomatic, and always flowing from, and connected with, himself. The self-projected prominence of his own person was here also distinguished. Other statesmen sink themselves to advance their sovereign, and lose themselves in the cabinet of their fellows. Wolsey always made himself the principal, and usually the sole director, of the helm of government. He was both its pilot and its captain, and

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caused it to be felt thro Europe that he was so, and was accordingly treated with as such. It was his object to govern Europe by his own pen and by his own tongue, while others used the sword; and if he did not effectuate all his own intricate projects, he was at least perpetually defeating or paralysing hose of others.

If the measures to which he led his royal master be considered only in their individual detail, they bear the features of being often subtle, and, from their conflicting objects, inconsistent and entangling; and at times interested and insincere. Some of his negotiations deserve the worst of these epithets. He either did not understand the value of good faith, frankness and honor, or had not the courage to make them the foundation or the instruments of his policy. He mistook cunning for wisdom, and craft for policy. The bad examples of the day misled him. Tho at times fairly ingenious, both in the schemes and purposes of his ministerial measures, and working great effects by the real ability of his mind and means; yet he frequently, without any perceptible necessity or utility, preferred the intricate, the mysterious, and the contradictory. His politic handling, as he termed it, was often insidious from choice, and selfish from inclination. But in all these discreditable characteristics we must not do him the injustice to say that his official conduct was worse than that of several other statesmen of his day, and especially those of the Roman court, which, for the last half century had been repeatedly giving to the world, or at least

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to the various ambassadors who could detect its meandering, the worst specimens of the worst principles which Machiavel, whether satirically or seriously, has illustrated in his "Il Principe"—a work perhaps rather meant to reveal, than to teach, what every moral sense and manly judgment can only read to abhor, and what has been declining in human practice ever since his exposure.

But it is justice to every minister of acknowleged talents and continued power, to suppose that he acts on some deliberated and well-combined system of his own formation or adoption. And in this view, as well as in the more self-interested objects, the political measures of a man like Wolsey ought likewise to be contemplated. It is safest to deduce this system from the actual ends which he avowedly aimed at, or really accomplished; and on this basis we may infer that he was steadily pursuing two great plans, the one for the nation, the other for himself; but both occasionally assisting and blending with each other. His personal objects were to acquire the papacy, to become the talk and wonder of all men, and to be the governing hand of the English power. His public purposes were, to keep the ecclesiastical order, to which he belonged, and therefore the pope, as its head, in the first rank of earthly state—to let no kingdom surpass his own in ruling influence, or by extending its dominion; and to preserve the peace and independence of Europe undisturbed, by creating and maintaining a balance of power between the states that could endanger it. Henry VII. by not sufficiently interfering, when a firm interposition might have availed, had allowed France to compact

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herself into an united monarchy, which was become formidable to her neighbors. Spain, by conquering the Moors, and uniting the crowns of Castile and Arragon, was rising to the same condition; and when Charles added his German empire to his Flemish and Spanish dominions, he became a leviathan, whose magnitude made him dangerous. The union of these two enlarged potentates would have enabled them to partition Europe as they pleased. Their serious hostilities would have shaken it to its centre: and the conquest of either by the other would have placed every thing at the mercy of the victor. Wolsey's plan therefore was, and his diplomacy took this course, to keep these two great powers always in a state of disunion and discord; to involve them in warfare with each other, but never to let either prevail to any dangerous extent; to aid the weaker while he was in peril; to abandon him as soon as he became triumphant; to join the defeated till he regained his proper level; to desert him again as soon as he rose to any preponderance; and to interfere perpetually with friendly offers of mediation or arbitration, but never to gratify the resentment, or to permit in any shape the aggrandizement of either. Subsidiary to these public designs, his steady determination also was to extract from both, without hesitation or remorse, as much pecuniary benefits and worldly importance during his interpositions, as the hopes and fears of the two rival cabinets would induce them to bestow, or compel them to admit, to prevent the power of England being wielded against them. Tortuous must have been the diplomacy and the conduct of any minister, who resolutely, and for

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many years, could pursue such a balancing plan, in combination with his own self interest; and tortuous, but not unmeaningly inconsistent, as without these systematic aims they would seem to be, were the negotiations and the political measures of this ever active, able, and vigilant cardinal. Mercenary, not from a sordid avarice, but from an expensive vanity, whose demands no common resources could supply; he was also dark and winding in his course, because he pursued selfish objects, which the love of reputation and the certainty of disappointment on their discovery, alike stimulated him to conceal.

England was at this juncture precisely in that position with respect to the continent, which enabled her directing minister to poise the balance of Europe; and Wolsey's piercing eye very early discerned that she was in this position, and would be felt to be so, The power of Francis and Charles was so nearly equal; their dominions so contiguous; their ambition so similar, and their interests so competing, that a cordial or continued union was improbable, and their dissension certain; but the arms of England, heartily exerted against either, in zealous conjunction with the other, might produce a Venetian catastrophe to the attacked. Of this Wolsey often reminded them; and the menace of such a combination was the great lever by which he was ever exciting their expectations or their alarms. He sometimes even made the aggressive alliance; but he took care never to let loose the English skill and valor beyond the limits he had prescribed. His views therefore appeared to end in nothing; but they really accom-

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plished all that he meant to effect by them—the restoration of the political balance which he had determined to maintain. The historian has only to regret that Wolsey's object was not singly national, and that his means were not as judicious, as straightforward, and as honorable, as an unmixed patriotic course would probably have made them.

These observations, if applied to the conduct of the English cabinet from 1512 to 1527, will explain the cardinal's political mutabilities and tergiversations, and the apparent defects of good faith into which he led the sovereign, whom he governed by an ever-plausible eloquence, by secret machinations, and by artful misrepresentations. The power of such a minister to mislead forbids us to make Henry responsible, in his personal character, for all that his name and hand were used to sanction. Culpable, indeed, he must be deemed, for a confiding pliability to his minister, which darkened his own judgment, and confused his moral principle; but it is a constitutional principle among us, that the sovereign's public conduct shall be guided by the decisions of his cabinet, which is answerable for it in parliament; and altho this allows it ample exercise of private deliberation and remonstrance, and change of counsellors when necessary, which saves the crown from any permanent delusion, yet until wilful deceit is detected, the confidence and the acquiescence continue unbroken. Henry's perception of Wolsey's great abilities increased his younger habit of leaving official business to his diplomatic care, and to judge of it from his representations; and as the minister placed an artful and plausible masque on every ques-

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tionable measure, we cannot, until Henry had detected and thrown off Wolsey, and thus emancipated himself from the enchantment of his sophistry, fairly impute to the sovereign the tergiversations and faithlessness which have been charged upon his government.

It was Wolsey's plan that the English ambassadors to every foreign court should send double dispatches; one to himself, and one to his sovereign. Abundance of these still exist in the British Museum; but they are in no case copies of each other. Enough was always sent to the sovereign to satisfy and please him; but the minute detail of the negotiation, and many a circumstance that was never to meet the master's eye, are detailed in those to the minister. Every ambassador so carefully makes this difference, that we cannot doubt he was instructed to do so. The embassies consisted always of several persons; and one of these, usually of the inferiors, was Wolsey's peculiar and confidential agent, watching the others, passing his opinion on their conduct, and making his own report of what occurred [105]. The cardinal professes, in papers which remain, that the motive of his measures was the good which they produced in the continued peace and harmony of Christendom. As this was certainly their result we need

[105] Thus, after the earl of Worcester and some others, the principal ambassadors to France, stands the name of the bishop of Ely in the commission. He writes separately to Wolsey from Senlis, 8th December 1518, with a minute account of their reaching Abbeville on the 1st, and of their other stages. He adds expressions which imply either orders or expectations that he should watch his colleagues. 'The other ambassadors behave themselves right soberly and substantially,' &c. MS. Calig. D. 7. p. 46. The same inference may be made from some of Dr. E. Lee's communications, and some others.

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not doubt it was one of their intentions. The world is also so happily organized, and at times so overruled in its moral agencies, that public good is continually emerging out of public vices, without the will or consciousness of their perpetrator. But it is often as clear that Wolsey's private benefit was an accompanying inducement[106]; and one great manifestation of this fact was his acceptance of foreign presents, which were sometimes at least solicited as well as received; and were granted, because they were known to be both expected and operative.

Foreign gifts and annuities to Wolsey.

With every allowance for occasional beneficiary compliments on the completion of great treaties of amity or pacification; yet, while the human mind is gratified and biassed by the emolument it receives, it must be deemed one of the most dishonorable parts of Wolsey's foreign policy, that he adopted a system of receiving gratuitous gifts and annuities from foreign powers[107]. It is vain to allege that they may be taken without corrupt motives or consequences. If they were not desired, they would not be accepted; if they were not meant to influence, they would not be given. The benefit derived from them, and for

[106] That Wolsey had some secret objects of his own, which he was negotiating with the French court, is not only manifest from the declaration which he had authorized Boleyn to make, of having something in reserve to mention when he and Francis met, but also from this passage in the letter of his chaplain of Ely, of 7th January 1519, 'I wrote at length how I had communication with the French king, *touching your affairs*, and such conversation as your grace had with me *in your gallery*, with the good answer that the French king gave me in every behalf, and that I sent your grace letters of exchange for your pension.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 73.

[107] Wolsey did not begin this habit without a precedent, tho to much smaller amount. Wingfield, one of his ambassadors, had a pension of two hundred pounds a year from the emperor, which Poynings had before him. Hall, p. 633.

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which alone they are taken, is the inevitably corrupting circumstance. The mind ceases to be upright and independent, whatever it may fancy it intends, from the moment they commence. The bias may be insensible, may be resolved against, may be unforeseen; but it is certain and unavoidable: and when the habits of life are formed upon the amount of the gifts, their abstraction would produce a degradation, the fear of which is always overawing; as their assistance to avert a change is a continual seduction. The minister who receives pay from a foreign power, is the servant of that power; and, if Henry could feel it unsafe, and was therefore jealous that one of his household became the follower of another; it cannot but be perilous to a country that any member of its cabinet should receive regular gratuities from a different government. If they do not influence, it is a fraud on the giver to take them, because they are granted only for that effect; and, as far as they bias, they produce treasonable connivance. In either case knavery is inseparable from their contact; and the great interest, which nations have in the simplicity of the domestic establishments of their statesmen, is, that all expensive habits cannot subsist without adequate expenditure; and that this, when it exceeds the private fortune of the minister, can never be supplied without the violation of integrity and honor, meant or not meant, perceived or not anticipated, by the corrupted or self-deluding individual.

It is not to be expected that we can now detect all the bribes and presents which Wolsey received; but enough evidence remains to show the evil prac-

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tice into which he declined. As far as existing documents reveal it, the corrupting practice began in 1515, when the duke of Milan, whom Francis had dispossessed, engaged to pay the cardinal ten thousand ducats a year as soon as he should regain possession of the Milanese[108]. This needs no comment. Two years afterwards, Charles V. styling him—"notre cher et especial ami," appointed him a pension[109]. The splendid annuity of twelve thousand pounds from Francis preceded the treaty which surrendered Tournay to the French king[110]. About the time when Charles V. had fixed to come to England to counteract the effects of the intended meeting at Ardre, and to solicit Henry's alliance against France, instead of that junction with it against him which he expected to be the result of the interview, he engaged to procure for Wolsey the bishopric of Badajos in Spain; and granted him two pensions—five thousand ducats on a Castile prelacy, and two thousand on that of Valencia[111]. Hostilities with Francis endangering the temporary loss of his Tournay pension, Charles V. in 1522, engaged to pay him a pension of nine thousand crowns of gold, expressly as an indemnity[112]. In the next month, as pope Adrian had not confirmed his nomination to the Spanish bishopric, Charles granted him an annuity of two thousand five hundred ducats out of its revenues[113]; but not-

[108] It was on 20th October 1515, that the duke's secretary made the written contract in Rymer, 13. p. 525.

[109] On 8th June 1517. It was to be 3,000 livres, at forty Flemish gros for each livre. Rym. 370.

[110] The grant bears date 31st July 1518, of librarum Turonensium. Rym. 610.

[111] See the grant of 29th March 1520. Rym. 714. and in Fiddes, App. p. 55. On 20th July, Leo X. signed a bull to allow it. Rym. 725.

[112] Dated 8th June 1522. Rym. 769. [113] On 3d July. Rym. 770.

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withstanding these imperial indemnities, when Wolsey was leading his sovereign to abandon the victorious Charles, and support Francis, he made the lady regent account to him for the arrears of his Tournay pension, which he had forfeited by the previous hostilities[114]. In the next year, when pope Clement VII. was busy in forming a league against Charles, in concurrence with Wolsey, his holiness agreed with Venice to allow the cardinal, if his sovereign acceded to it, ten thousand ducats a year[115]. How much Wolsey lent his ear to what, without any desire to revile, we must denominate specific and intended bribery, tho he tried to mask the deformity with as much contriving management as would somewhat guard his character without defeating his wishes, we may learn from the conversation which his confidential agent, whom he had attached to the embassy about the surrender of Tournay, so carefully reported to him[116]. No personation of repugnance can be allowed, when he was directly consulted what the "marvellous great present should consist of."

[114] It was on 18th November 1525, that Louisa acknowleged, by letters patent, that there was due to Wolsey from France, 121,898 crowns, and covenanted to pay it by instalments in seven years. Rym. 14. p. 110.

[115] Dr. Tayler, our envoy at Cognac, wrote to him on 21st May 1526, that he had conferred with Francis, and adds, 'The ambassadors of the pope and Venice willed him to write unto the cardinal, that they have laid in an article in the league of Italy, by the which there shall be promised pension unto the king's highness 30,000 ducats, and for the cardinal 10,000 ducats.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 160.

[116] After stating to Wolsey his conference with Francis, the bishop adds, 'He thanked you, saying, he perceived that you were well-minded towards the deliverance of Tournay. After this, I moved as well the admiral as the bishop of Paris, that *albeit you would take nothing* for your yet I thought you should by some other upon you for the same.

The MS. letter is in this part imperfect. It proceeds—

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These latter grants were for assisting Francis against Charles; but in the next year we find Charles directing this pecuniary artillery against his rival. Ten thousand ducats a year were held out to the cardinal as provided for him out of the see of Toledo. The Spanish archbishop did not relish this incumbrance, and refused to pay it till the pope specifically allowed it to Wolsey, which opened a large field for a mercenary contest in the Roman court[117]. One reason for the prelate's opposition may have been, that the same sum was promised from his revenues to another cardinal[118]. That Wolsey had other pensions from other powers and persons, who had purposes to obtain from his favor[119], we can as little doubt as that the effect of these would be to make all applications unpalatable to him that came unattended with donations, which his enormous expenditure made every day more necessary. To what extent they influenced his ministerial actions, we

'They severally apart answered, that the king and the council were determined to send your grace a *marvellous great present*, but what it shou!d be, or what time it should be sent, I could in no wise get of them. Notwithstanding the admiral said to me at another time, that before that time the king would send your grace some other pleasure, and he desired me to (let him) know *what would best content you*, and I answered, that I could not tell, but I supposed it was most convenient to send you *goodly plate or some other rich jewels*.' MS. ib. 58.

[117] On 7th March 1527, Dr. Lee thus wrote to Wolsey from Valladolid; 'I must disclose to your grace what I endeavored to compass with the archbishop of Toledo. It was shewn me, that altho in his bull your grace is not named, yet his bull declareth, that he must give pension out of his church of 10,000 ducats, to be bestowed wheresoever the emperor will. He would not shew a copy. He will none pay except he be constrained, and how we shall constrain him, as yet I cannot devise, unless your grace had the transcript of the bull, or else get the transcript from Rome. I intend to speak with the emperor thereon, seeing what may come thereof.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 47.

[118] To cardinal de Medici, who became pope Clement VII. Guicc. L. 14.

[119] Fiddes mentions one from the doge of Venice. p. 202.

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cannot now ascertain. They may have paralysed each other. He may have taken them, and yet have acted with an independent judgment. Both these contingencies are possible; but of the corrupting tendency and inevitable imputation of such accepted gifts, there can be no dispute[120]. A future chapter will exhibit other instances of these insidious bounties to the all powerful prime-minister of England[121].

[120] It was an old remark; 'Beneficium accipere est libertatem vendere.'

[121] It may amuse the reader to know how Wolsey, even in the fulness of his power, was exhibited by Skelton the daring, because highly-patronized, satirist of his day. We can hardly now conceive how the poet laureat should have ventured on such lines as these. He says of the English peerage, and of Wolsey, that

'Our barons'
Dare not look out a door
For dread of the *mastiff cur*;
For dread that the *butcher's dog*
Would worry them like an hog.
For, an this cur do gnar,
They must stand all afar,
To hold up their hand at the bar.
For all their noble blood
He plucks them by the hood,
And shakes them by the ear,
And brings them in such fear.
He baiteth them like a bear;
Like an ox or a bull,
Their wits, he saith, are dull.
He saith they have no brain
Their estate to maintain;
And makes them bow their knee
Before his Majesty.

Skelton thus describes Wolsey's behaviour to the legal dignitaries:

Judges of the kings's laws;
He counts them fools and daws.
Sergeaunt of the coif eke;
He saith they are to seek.—
Or at the King's Bench,
He wringeth them such a wrench,
That all our learned men
Dare not set their pen
To plead a true trial
Within Westminster Hall,

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In the Chancery where he sets.
But such as he admits
None so hardy to speak.
He rages and he raves,
And calls them cankerd knaves;
Thus royally he doth deal
Under the king's broad seal,
And in the 'Chequer he them checks;
In the star-chamber he nods and becks;
And beareth him there so stout
That no man dare rout;
Duke, earl, baron, or lord,
But to his sentence must accord.

He remarks that the king's court 'should have the excellence:'

But, Hampton Court
Hath the pre-eminence;
And York-place
With my lord's grace,
To whose magnificence
Is all the confluence,
Suits and supplications,
Embassador of all nations.
He such slights doth find
That the king's mind
By him is subverted,
And so straitly co-arcted
In credencing his tales,
That all is but nutshales;
That any other saith
He hath in him such faith.

Skelton then represents him as the deviser of increased taxations, and as causing popular commotions by them:

He beareth the king on hand,
That he must pill his land
To make his coffers rich;
But he layeth all in the ditch,
And useth such abusion,
That in the conclusion
All cometh to confusion.

The poet adds more coarsely:

Perceive the cause why?
To tell the truth plainly.
He is so ambitious,
So shameless and so vicious,
And so much oblivious
From whence that he came.
——His base progeny,
And his *greasy* genealogy.

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He came of the sauke romll
That was cast out of a *butcher's* stall.

He arraigns Wolsey for his ignorance of the sciences then studied:

For he was, pardie!
No doctor of divinity;
Nor doctor of the law;
Nor of none other saw,
But a poor master of art.
He—had little part
Of the quadrivials
Nor yet of trivials;
Nor of philosophy;
Nor of philology;
Nor of astronomy;
Nor acquainted, worth a fly,
With honorable Haly;
Nor with royal Ptolomy:
Nor will Albumasar
To treat of any star,
Fix'd or else mobil.

His Latin tongue doth hobble,
He doth but clout and cobble
In Tully's faculty,
Called Humanity;
Yet, proudly he dare pretend
How no man can him amend.

The inculpating verses more angrily add,—

Presumption and vain-glory;
Envy, wrath and lechery:
Covetise and gluttony.
Slothful to do good;
Now frantic; now stark wode.

Skelton thus depicts his language to country gentry:

He hath despight and scorn
At them that be well-born;
He rebukes them and rails,
'Ye whoresons! ye vassails!
Ye knaves! ye churles sons!
Ye ribauds; not worth two plums.
Ye rain-beaten beggars rejagged!
Ye recrayed ruffians, all ragged!'
With 'Stoop! thou travel!
'Run! thou javel!
Thou peevish pie pecked,
Thou losel long necked.'
Thus daily they be decked,
Taunted and checked,
That they are so wo,
They wot not whether to go.

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He represents Wolsey as equally passionate and humorsome to his own household:

The chief of his own counsel,
They cannot well tell
When with him they should mell,
He is so fierce and fel.
He rails and he rates:
He calleth them 'Doddy pates!'
He grins and he gapes
As it were Jack Napes.

Skelton then alludes to his fascination of Henry:

The king's grace
Is toward him so mended,
And so far blended,
That he cannot perceive
How he doth him deceive.
I doubt, lest by sorcery,
Or such other loserly,
As witchcraft, or charming.
For he is the king's darling:
And his sweet heart root
And is governed by this mad koote.

Skelt. Poems, 276.

On reading these invectives it is proper to recollect that satire, ever too much praised and patronized, to its own disgrace, always caricatures what it professes to pourtray; and that large abatement must be made from its wilful exaggerations before we can consider its representations to be the actual truth.

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CHAP. IX.

HENRY AGREES TO MEET THE FRENCH KING AT ARDRE—CHARLES VISITS ENGLAND—THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN FRANCIS AND HENRY—THEIR FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE.

CHAP. IX.

THE greatest display of that magnificence which arises from the emulation of gaudy apparel, and from manly vigor condescending to intrude on female decorations, appeared in the summer of 1520. The world had never before seen such an assemblage of princely and national foppery, and has had the wisdom never to repeat it since. The sublime of nature and art gratefully and even instructively moves and awes us; but the sublime of show has such a mixture of the puerile, that the mind, tho amused by it, cannot but feel it to be a pantomime; and almost condemning its own temporary admiration, usually, if at all reflective, retires from the scene a satiated and censorious critic. The childish age, and the most childish state and periods of human nature, the most indiscriminatingly admire it.

It was exhibited at a meeting between the kings of England and France, partly from a wish to see and be seen by each other in their kingly state, and partly from the political objects of their respective cabinets. France wanted to cement a still closer alliance between the two governments; and Wolsey had long desired a personal interview with Francis for the promotion of his personal interests, which that sovereign perceiving and imitating, expressed

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also his wishes for a private conference[1]. All the purposes of policy and sentiment might have been answered by such friendly and unostentatious visits as Charles made to England[2]. Henry might have gone to Calais, and Francis to Boulogne, and interviews of business or regard, without costly ceremonies, might have been easily interchanged.

But simple elegance was a refinement of taste which the age had not reached. Barbaric gorgeousness, so grateful to the Ashantee and the effeminate Asiatic, was the character of all noble magnificence in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and altho Francis desired to avoid some part of the expenditure meditated by the English court[3], yet Henry and his minister loved costly splendor too much to surrender it to the better judgment of the French sovereign. It was indeed so much the passion of the age, that the grand master of France who had just died, made it the accompaniment of his journey[4].

[1] That Wolsey had reserved subjects for a private interview with the French king, has been mentioned before, p. 235, note 106. And on 14th August 1519, sir W. Fitzwilliam writes to the cardinal of France—'He desireth more to see your grace than any prince living, to the intent he may shew you the secret of his mind, whereof hereafter he will declare to your grace largely.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 144.

[2] Sir Richard Wingfield, in his dispatches from Brussels of 24th February 1522, gives an instance that Charles did not seek to be the lady in his dress. 'Yesterday the emperor and his two brothers, with twenty in their company, disported with as many in the jeu des armes, *all being arrayed in cloth*, without any manner of silk or cloth of gold.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 10.

[3] On 18th April 1520, Wingfield was at the Parisian court, and thence wrote to Wolsey: 'Sir, the king here would gladly know whether the king his brother would be content to forbear the making of rich tents and pavilions; which thing *he could be well contented to forbear* on his part.' 1 Ellis' Orig. Lett. 167.

[4] The grand-master, or first minister of Francis, is mentioned by sir T. Boleyn, as going on a journey in this state. 'He hath with him a great train, so that he maketh his reckoning to be above a thousand horses. He hath with him a guard of 300 archers.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 104.

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It was by him, while he lived, and by his brother, the admiral, after his death[5], that the plan was formed with Wolsey of converting the royal meeting into a formal drama of the most sumptuous chivalry.

The emperor attached no value to the celebrity which arose from shining apparel. While his contemporaries made it a part of their reputation and their happiness to appear in trappings glistening with glossiness and gold, he gave the example of neat and unostentatious habiliments, even in his knightly entertainments. Our ambassadors at his court carefully remarked this plainer style in their official despatches[6]; but it was too uncongenial with Wolsey's character to produce any imitation.

[5] Fleuranges remarks, that he died lamented by the king, and all the nobility, 'which is a great thing for the governor of a country, for we rarely see such a one loved by every body.' He adds, alluding to the new councils given afterwards to Francis, 'His decease caused the deaths of 200,000 men, which I am sure would not have occurred if he had lived.' Mem. 258.

[6] Sir R. Wingfield and Spinelly, on 3d March 1522, sent this description from Brussels to Wolsey, which we transcribe as a specimen of the emperor's amusements.

'Yesterday, in the afternoon, the count de Herne came to our lodgings, and conveyed us to the new galleries, where, with my lady dowager, was assembled the queen germain of Arragon, with many other ladies; also the cardinal of Liege, with divers ambassadors, and many great lords of divers countries.

'Soon after our arriving there, the emperor, with ten noblemen in his company, came into the place on horseback, armed at all pieces, every of them, with a target upon his shoulder, having their divers trappings and bases of their coats *all of white woollen cloth*, and on their armettys (helmets) great white plumages. In this form they saluted the ladies, and rode about the field and tilt with trumpets and tabors. Also noblemen on horeback, armed, bannered and bearing spears.

'Soon after, upon that other side, came in the infante don Fernando, and in his company a like number of noblemen, *dressed like the emperor's* company, except being white and yellow. They saluted the ladies, and made their bows.

'The emperor began the play, and brake his spear right freshly upon one of his brother's company. In the next course, the infante did likewise on one of the emperor's. One hundred spears were brought in to

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A great parade of political jealousy occasioned a protracted correspondence of eighteen months before all the points of state and safety could be settled between the ministers[7]. The end of May 1520 was at last appointed for its occurrence. Francis professed himself to be glad that Charles was the chosen emperor, on the right public principle that his people were pleased[8]. Charles, gratified by his success, was externally courteous to his rival; and Henry, who really loved peace, good humor and social enjoyment, rejoiced in the harmony into which all the contending sensibilities had subsided.

But Charles, tho calm, was vigilant. He knew enough of courts and ministers to suppose that some measures might arise out of this peculiar meeting unfavorable to his wishes; and to avert what he should not be present to parry, he resolved to have a personal interview with Henry and the cardinal before they came into the influence of Francis; and he so timed his visit as to reach England a week before the sovereigns were to assemble. Francis

be broken. His majesty handled his business in most galiard form, and brake more spears than any other.

'When all the spears were broken, the emperor, mounted upon another horse, being disarmed of his armett and target, and upon this horse, after he had saluted the ladies, sported himself in the place, like the prince that may well be called the patron of horsemen That feat ended, the place was soon abandoned, and they went to supper.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 11.

[7] The MS. Caligula, D. 7. contains many letters and official papers concerning this meeting, of which Mr. Ellis has published one from sir T. Boleyn, and three from sir R. Wingfield. v. 1. p. 162–174.

[8] On 14th August 1519, sir Thomas Boleyn wrote to Wolsey, that the French king had told him, that, 'considering how unwilling all the nobility and people of his realm were for their own (fears) and undoing, that he should be emperor, he saith, that he is glad and happy,—and he thought the end of May a good time for the meeting.' MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 143–5.

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heard of his approaching the court; and that he might not frustrate the appointed meeting, wrote the next day to assure Wolsey of his own punctual attendance[9]. Henry, on the 25th May, had reached Canterbury on his way to France, while Wolsey went to Dover to receive the emperor, whose expected ships appeared off that harbour on the following day. The cardinal rowed in state to meet him on the sea. Charles landed in the evening, with royal ceremonies, and the people were delighted with his benign manner and meekness. Henry was at Dover the next morning, and they rode together to Canterbury, where, amid festive entertainments, for four days, Charles made those arrangements for his political interests for which he had come[10]. On 31st May he went to Sandwich, and embarked for Flanders; while Henry proceeded to Dover, to be at Calais and Guisnes by the stipulated time[11].

Every thing belonging to this interview was made as splendid as the metallic radiance from gold and

[9] It was on 27th May, that the French king wrote thus from Montreuil: 'I have heard, Monsieur le Legat, my good friend, of the arrival of the catholic king at Sandwich, of which I have been and am well pleased; advising you, that in following what is arranged between my good brother and me, I shall set off on next Wednesday, to go on Thursday to Ardres.' MS. Calig. D. 7. p. 226.—The two princes watched the conduct of the English government towards each other with great jealousy. Thus on 16th August 1518, Charles had sent from Saragossa a friendly message of inquiry, on the report of the marriage proposed between the dauphin and Mary. MS. Vesp. C. 1. p. 182.

[10] Hall, 603, 4. Louisa's entries in her journal, are—'31st May 1520, my son arrived at Ardes, and the king of England at Calais. Tuesday 5th June, the king of England came to Guisnes, and the queen and I to Ardres.' p. 429.

[11] The order of meeting, as finally issued by Wolsey was, that Henry should be at the English castle at Guisnes, and Francis at Ardres, before the end of May, and within four days after, go to a place neither fortified nor walled, and without tents, and to meet each other first on horseback. See it in Hall, 601-3.

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silver, the rich impressions from velvet, satins and silks, and the gaudy contrast of the most imposing colors, could be combined to produce. The gorgeous effect was increased by tents of the richest embroidery with cloth of gold, and by the crowding number of the royal trains. Spacious palaces of wood were made in both countries for their respective sovereigns, and were furnished with a costly magnificence which dazzled the eye, and entranced the judgment. All this rivalry of that spectacular pomp which has for ages delighted half barbaric Asia, but from which our superior taste and moral intellectuality recoil with wonder that human reason should seek a reputation from such factitious and momentary things, may be read in the descriptions which each king was anxious to have made, and which exist to satisfy the congenial curiosity [12]. But in our age it is the man, his sensibilities, his reasonings and his conduct, and not the ingenuity of his artisans or manufacturers, that we venerate; and we may therefore turn from the dress and trappings of the royal ceremony, to notice the personal behaviour of these young and friendly kings of the two nations which were then, as now, the most influential and the most cultivated in Europe [13].

[12] Henry directed Hall, recorder of London, who was present at this interview, to make a diary of its incidents, which he has inserted in his Chronicle; and also caused a painting to be made of it, which is in Windsor castle, and of which sir John Ayloffe wrote a description, inserted in the Archeologia. Francis ordered Monsieur Peyresc to compose a journal of the meeting, which Montfaucon has published in his Monumens, v. 4, and the Mareschal de Fleuranges, who died 1537, also wrote an account of it in his Memoirs. Francis had it sculptured in bas relievo, on five marbles at Rouen, of which engravings are in Montfaucon, and also in Ducarel's Angl. Norman Antiq. So much did both kings seek to give it a lasting remembrance.

[13] A passage from Hall's account, will give an idea of the general

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CHAP. IX.

The statesmen had settled beforehand the royal visits of civility, even to their queens, with a ludicrous minuteness of cautionary precision that made the sovereigns no better than moving puppets; but the perfidy of Cæsar Borgia, and other Italians, who had converted festive invitations into scenes of murder, may have justified these fettering regulations[14].

7 June 1520.

The first meeting between the kings was on horseback. There was at first some hesitation, from the fear of each other's treachery. Francis rode with a brilliant cavalry, but suddenly paused. Henry was informed, that large as his attendance was, the French outnumbered him; but tho warned of this, he declared that he would go forward. He reached the bank of Andern, and there his company arranged themselves in their appointed stations. The French came and took their places on the opposite eminence, and the most distinguished nobility and gentry of both nations remained awhile contemplating and criticising each other[15].

Francis, with the duke of Bourbon holding a naked sword before him, advanced in the front of his people. Henry, perceiving this, ordered his sword of state to

effect. 'He were wise that could have told or shewed of the riches of apparel that was amongst the lords and gentlemen of England: cloth of gold, cloth of silver, velvets, tinsins, satins embroidered and crimson; of the marvellous treasure of gold that was worn in chains and baldries so great, so weighty; some so manifold, some in collars, that the gold was innumerable, to my deeming, to be summed, of all noblemen, gentlemen, squires, and knights; each honest officer of the king was richly apparelled, and had chains of gold, great and marvellous weighty. Surely among the Englishmen lacked no riches nor beautiful apparel or array. And always, as the king of England and his horsemen marched, so pace for pace marched the most goodly battle or band of footmen, that ever I trowe was seen.' Hall, 609.

[14] See them in Rymer, 13. p. 735, and Hall, 601.

[15] Hall, p. 609. Each advanced to the banners with 400 selected individuals for his guard. Mem. Fleur. 272.

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be unsheathed; and while the trumpets, sackbuts, clarions, and minstrels, on both sides sounded all their music, the two kings descended from the hills into the valley of Andern towards each other, and embraced on horseback. Alighting, they repeated the courteous salutation with kind tones and phrases of mutual gratulation, and entered, arm in arm, the superb tent prepared for their reception[16]. They banqueted together, while the English officers ran to the French with wine and refreshments. Henry read the articles between them, omitting in his own titles that of France[17]; and when all had been feasted, both came out to public view, and separated, the French king to Ardres, and the English to Guisnes[18].

A field was then prepared for the feats of arms nine hundred feet long, and three hundred and twenty broad, divided from the promiscuous public by broad and deep ditches, and edged with scaffolds for the nobility. Two artificial trees, nearly twelve yards high—an hawthorn and a raspberry—their

[16] Hall, 610. Their addresses to each other may be deemed nationally characteristic. Francis; 'My dear brother and cousin! Thus far, to my pain, I have travelled to see you personally. I think verily, that you esteem me as I am; and, that I may to you be your aid; the realms and seignories shew the might of my power.'—'Sir!' said the king of England, 'Neither your realms, nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regard; but the steadfastness and loyal keeping of promise, comprised in charters between you and me. That observed and kept, I never saw prince with my eyes, that might, of my heart, be more loved.' Hall, p. 610.

[17] Saying to Francis, 'I will not put king of France, as you are here, because I should express an untruth.' He proceeded, 'I, Henry king of England.' Fleur. 272.

[18] After describing the rich dress of Francis as he stood before him, Hall adds this portraiture of his person: 'A goodly prince, stately of countenance, merry of cheer, brown colored, great eyes, high nosed, big lipped, fair breast and shoulders, small legs and long feet.' p. 610.

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leaves of green damask, with branches and stems of cloth of gold, bearing silver flowers and fruits, were erected on a hill as symbols of England and France; the two kings, with seven chosen knights of each side, hung up their shields of defiance on these trees; and on Monday the 9th of June, after the two queens had entered the plain, had saluted each other kindly, and had ascended to their decorated stages, the warlike amusements began [19].

The sovereigns heading their appointed companions, richly apparelled, made their reverence to their royal ladies, and then took their stations for the course. "The French king was the first that ran. He did valiantly, and broke his spears mightily [20]." Henry began with so much vigor, that at the second tilt the sturdiness of his blow at the head of his antagonist so disabled him, that he could not run the other three courses. The kings repeated their exercises till the heralds cried out to disarm, and the trumpet sounded to lodging [21]. These dangerous sports were repeated with all the energy of national emulation, personal strength, and practised dexterity, the four following days, and on the last Henry ran so many courses with such impetuosity, shivering his spears on his opponents, that one of his best horses died that night from the violence of the repeated shocks it had endured [22].

But all these visits had been in obedience to the mechanical programme in which the civilities to be exchanged had been officially stipulated and prescribed.

[19] Hall, 611.
[20] Hall, 612.
[21] Hall, ib.
[22] Hall, 612-614.

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A more pleasing scene ensued on Saturday the 17th June. The king of France, whose temper was too noble to be suspicious, and who having conversed with Henry felt mistrust to be misplaced, was vexed to see so little confidence between two honorable sovereigns. Keeping his statesmen ignorant of his intentions, that they might not be counteracted, he rose that morning early, contrary to his custom, and taking with him a page and two gentlemen, the first he met, he mounted his horse without any housings, and, putting on a Spanish cap, rode to the castle of Guisnes. He was recognized on the bridge by the English, who were surprised at their unexpected visitor. Two hundred archers were guarding it. Francis went among them, surrendered himself their prisoner, and asked to be conducted to the apartments of the king of England. The governor pointed them out, but remarked that he was not awake. Francis passed on, and knocking at the chamber door, opened it without ceremony, and astonished Henry by his presence. The king of England felt strongly this generous visit, thanked him for the confidence he displayed, declared himself his captive, and threw round his neck a costly collar. Francis returned the compliment by fastening on Henry's arm a bracelet of still greater value, and declaring that he should have no valet but himself, assisted him to dress[23]. Henry could not submit to be van-

[23] Mem Fleur. 273–5. 'He warmed Henry's chemise, and gave it to him when he rose.' ib. This visit was so far beyond the conceptions of his followers, that Fleuranges took the liberty, on his return, to tell him that he was 'un fol' to do what he had done, and that satan might take those who had advised him to it; but Francis only answered, that no one had counselled it, and he knew that none would have recommended it. ib.

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quished in courageous liberality of feeling, and the next morning returned the visit at Ardres in the same confiding manner[24]. Each queen gave afterwards sumptuous entertainments to the royal husband of the other, and new justings and tournays succeeded for several days, in which both kings displayed their martial strength and knightly address[25].

Wrestling followed these chivalric combats, in which the English prevailed[26]. Archery was then the subject of competition, and in this the king of England distinguished himself[27]. The sovereigns withdrew for their refreshment into the tent, and there Henry, suddenly seizing Francis by the collar, exclaimed, "Brother! I will have a wrestle with you." But the king of France, who understood the game thoroly, and was inferior to Henry in strength, after struggling a little, suddenly gave him a twist, and to his unexpected mortification threw him to the ground. Henry rose indignant for another trial; but the wise attendants declaring supper to be ready, prevented what might have become an angry and resenting conflict[28]. The protracted festivities were closed by Wolsey building a showy chapel of wood in one night, and on 23d June singing himself an high and solemn mass before the two kings and their queens, and pronouncing sacerdotal indulgences to them and to all their followers[29].

[24] Fleur. 276. [25] Hall, 615–8.

[26] 'Because,' says Fleuranges, 'no Britons were there.' p. 277.

[27] 'Who is a marvellously good bowman, and strong. It did one good to see him.' Fleur. 277.

[28] Fleur. 278.

[29] Hall 618. The allegorical devices used in these festivities, implied meanings not wholly discernible now. Thus the French king had in his satin decorations, 53 paunse flowers, which signified pensez, 'think on

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The next day, after exchanging princely presents to each other, the sovereigns separated. Henry went to Calais; but on the 10th July proceeded thence to Gravelines to meet the emperor, to the surprise and mistrust of the French king, who could not understand the feelings nor the purposes which could induce Henry, after establishing such a personal intimacy with himself, o cultivate immediately a similar attachment with his political adversary. Charles returned with the English king to Calais, and remained four days[30] transacting that business with Wolsey for which he had undertaken the journey.

When we read that the expenses of their gaudy dresses were ruinous to many who could not without loss of reputation, refuse to attend the interview[31], we are tempted to criticise with some severity its unavailing pomp. But perhaps we ought in candor to recollect, that as every age differs in its customs and sensibilities, we cannot fairly apply the tastes and reasonings of our present minds as the rules for an estimation of the conduct of our predecessors. In their days, grand displays of visible sumptuous-

Francis.' Hall, 616. Elderly lords having 'raisins of gold,' that said 'Farewell, youth,' ib. 615, were intelligible enough; but the words 'a me,' written on a dress, inside of blue chains of white satin, disposed like a book, which in Latin is liber, to express 'liber-a me,' deliver me, p. 614, made but a dark enigma. Nor was another French fancy more brilliant. Francis wore one day purple satin, embroidered with corbyns or ravens feathers, round and buckled. The first syllable of corbyn is cor, an heart. A feather is in Latin a penna, which if pronounced pœna, signifieth pain, as the buckles did fastening, and the rounding endless. So good Mr. Recorder Hall's interpretation of the Latin rebus, is, 'an heart fastened in endless pain.' p. 611.

[30] Hall, 621.

[31] M. Bellay says, on the expensive dresses, 'many carried on their shoulders their mills, their forest and their meadows.' p. 87.

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ness operated to excite those feelings of reverence which it is the interest of society that its official dignities should receive, in order that our civil obedience may be the spontaneous habit of our sympathies, rather than an extorted tribute to coercive power. In former times, pomp created an impression which awed turbulence into respect, and promoted the peace of society by the admiration that followed the rank and power which could display it. It also weakened aristocratical tyranny by its exhausting expenditure. As mental and moral cultivation advances, and general freedom pervades a nation, more intellectual feelings prevail, and all that is merely dramatic diminishes in its effect. The man is then depreciated in proportion as he is the actor. The reality, not the pageant, is desired. Our veneration is yielded only to mental or moral dignity; and even the highest station must be truly great, in order to be esteemed such. We are living in days when these sentiments are becoming the companions of every mind, and the conclusions of every judgment. We now respect official dignity and power, not from the number of the retinue or the gaudiness of their apparel, but from the essential importance of government, both in its lofty trunk and descending branches, to our general welfare and individual comfort; and from the useful power which our consenting reason enables and desires it to exert. But in Henry's days, parade was necessary to obtain the reverence, without which the public subordination would have rested only on caprice or calculation. His populace was not like ours, a thinking, and for the most part, an educated,

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population. Their wills were influenced more by their eyes and passions than by their understanding; and therefore showy pomp may have been then as beneficial as it would now be ludicrous. It is the feast of children, and may be necessary to those who are such.

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CHAP. X.

WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE EMPEROR — WOLSEY'S DOUBLE NEGOTIATIONS—HENRY ALLIES WITH CHARLES AGAINST FRANCIS—ENGLISH INVASION OF FRANCE, IN 1522.

CHAP. X.

WHILE the sovereigns were feasting and banqueting at Ardres, their ministers discussed their political negotiations. The result was a treaty of friendly alliance, which, like most of the treaties in this reign, proved neither very binding nor of long duration[1]; and Francis empowered Henry to settle his differences with the Emperor[2].

That Charles, so early as July 1520, in his conferences with Henry after the splendid meeting at Ardre, endeavored to break the match between the dauphin and the princess Mary, and to obtain her for himself, and renewed his solicitations to effect this dishonorable faithlessness,—was frankly acknowleged by the English king to Francis, when the latter complained about it[3]. It was more discreditable to Charles, because he had then engaged to marry the French sovereign's daughter, and yet was also so far pointing his attentions to the Princess of Portugal, as to occasion rumors that he was applying for a dispensation to marry her. Henry directed his ambas-

[1] It is in Rymer, 13. p. 719.

[2] His letters patent for this purpose are dated 1 July. Rymer, 748.

[3] Henry's 'instructions to sir W. Fitzwilliam and sir R. Jernyngham, to be declared unto his dearest brother, confederate and compeer, the French king,' are in MS. Calig. D. 8. p. 5.

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sadors to state the fact to Francis, but to declare that he had exhorted the emperor to perform inviolably his treaties with France[4]; and to assure its king that while he was steady to his contracted engagements, no prospect of advantage should tempt Henry into any act of hostility against him[5]. The most earnest assurances of a desire to live in perpetual friendship with him accompanied this explanation[6], and were cordially welcomed and reciprocated by the gratified Francis[7].

But the little cloud had now arisen which was soon to expand into an atmosphere of storm and conflict. One of the French king's feudal nobles, Robert de la Marche, lord of Sedan, had on some

[4] 'As touching the pursuit made for the dispensation to marry the daughter of Portugal, the king's grace cannot a little marvel thereat, for his highness hath always persuaded unto the emperor to observe and keep all manner of connections and promises made and passed between him and the French king, without violation or rupture; as well concerning the peace and mutual amity, as also the marriage with the daughter of France; and that in doing the contrary, he should have no assistance of his grace.' Inst. MS. Calig. D. 8. p. 6.

[5] 'And whereas they have reported that the emperor mought have had the king's (Henry's) daughter if he would. Truth it is, that such desire was heretofore made to the king's highness by the emperor, as well on his being at Calais, as since that time. Whereunto his grace would never condescend; making express answer that, standing the guarantee and perfect intelligence that is rooted and established between the king's highness and his said brother (Francis), and he observing and keeping (his treaties) as he hath hitherto done, the king will never vary nor break with the French king, tho thereby he might get all the realms and dominions of the emperor.' Inst. ib. 6.

[6] He orders that his ambassadors 'Give him the most affectuous and cordial thanks; with the best words that they can imagine, shall declare unto him the correspondence of the king's determined fastness towards him, being always firmly fixed and rooted, to live in perfect amity with him constantly, and without variance.' Inst. Ib. p. 5.

[7] Fitzwilliam reported, that on 4th February he delivered his charge according to his instructions to Francis, 'who familiarly and lovingly received me in the middle of his chamber,' and expressed the greatest professions of regard to Henry. Letter 6th February 1521. MS. Cal. D. 8.

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affront abandoned his service, and allied himself with the emperor[8]. But sometime afterwards, the lord Aymerie having claimed and taken one of his castles, and Charles deciding in favor of the claimant, the Sedan noble quitted Charles, reconciled himself to Francis, and sought his own revenge by besieging a small town in the imperial domains of Luxemburg[9]. That so petty a chieftain should place himself in hostility against the greatest potentate in Europe, was a temerity which fixed the emperor in the belief that he had been secretly urged, and was to be supported by Francis. He began immediate preparations for war, pursued hostile negotiations, and demanded satisfaction. On the interference of the English government, the French king disavowed the act; and Henry, prudently accrediting this disavowal, thought that neither sovereign should plunge into a contest on that occasion[10]. He solicited Francis to forbear[11]. The king commanded Robert to desist[12], who obeyed, but persevered in his animosity[13].

[8] See his son Fleuranges' Mem. p. 235–7.

[9] Fleur. Mem. 286.

[10] His conciliating opinion and instructions were, 'for tho the article made by the emperor be too large for a rupture by attemptate of Robert de la Marche and others, without knowledge or consent of the French king, yet as much as the same article was conditional, and that Robert at the request of the French king, hath retrayed his wings and desisted from his wars, *there is as yet no cause of rupture*, by any invasion of the emperor, but only a word spoken conditionally.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 6.

[11] Fitzwilliam was to 'desire the French king to abstain from any manner of invasion upon so small occasion.' MS. ib. p. 6.

[12] Fleuranges admits that Francis sent a gentleman to request his father to retire from before the town he was besieging, who obeyed and raised the siege. 287.

[13] Our ambassadors, on 18th Feb. informed Wolsey, 'Robert will make war upon the emperor's lands, because he suffered Mons. Emerie to take one of his castles.' MS. ib. 13.

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French forces were collected[14], to be ready for what might result; but Francis refused to aid, and rebuked the son of the irritated noble[15], who, resolving to redress himself, had soon to lament the consequences of the unequal conflict[16]. He suffered and passed away, but he had kindled a flame which involved the best half of Europe in bloodshed, devastation, crime, and calamity[17].

There was nothing in this affair that was not susceptible of an easy arrangement, if the minds of the two sovereigns had been less inflammable, less jealous, or less ambitious. But they were eyeing each other with mutual mistrust and aversion; and both, with favorite schemes as well as resentments in view, continued to make those warlike preparations[18] which are often the tempters to future conflict.

Henry became at this juncture unwell[19]; but his

[14] Fitzwilliam's dispatch of 29th April notices the warlike preparations and activity of the French government. MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 30.

An army of 10,000 lansquenets and 6,000 foot, was assembled at Avigny under d'Alençon. Fleur. 298.

[15] On 7th May the ambassador writes; 'the French king told me that Fleuranges, son of Robert, was come and claimed aid of him; and that he had shewed him how he made war to the emperor against his mind, and had raised his subjects contrary to his commandment.' MS. ib. p. 33. Fleuranges states that he and his father went after to d'Alençon for succor, but were refused. 298.

[16] Fleuranges details the conflict which ensued between his family and the emperor's troops. 268–316. And which could not but be unfortunate to his house; and with these his Memoirs finish. From his family the celebrated Turenne descended.

[17] Bellay truly says, that 'tant d'eversions des villes, oppressions de peuples, ruines de provinces et le mort de tant de gens de bien et de vertu' arose 'pour peu d'occasion;' and this was the resentment and claims of the seigneur du Sedan. 93–9.

[18] See dispatch 14th May. MS. ib. 36.

[19] On 20th May, Wolsey acquaints Fitzwilliam that the king 'was newly entered into a fever; whereto, for the season, his grace was so sharply handled, that in process it grew into two tertians, in such wise, that by the long continuance of both paroxysms in cold and hot, there

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minister was active, and announced to the French court that the emperor had offered to put into his sovereign's hands all the differences between him and Francis [20].

But the French monarch, as his martial equipments advanced, diminished in his desires for a continued peace, rather avoiding the audience which the English ambassadors were instructed to seek [21]. When he at length received them, after assuring them that the emperor was pursuing the dispensation to marry the king of Portugal's daughter, and that he would send into Picardy and other places to inquire what wrongs the imperial forces had done him, he desired a copy of their articles to answer [22]. On being urged strongly to desist from war, and to commit his differences with the emperor to Henry's mediation, he civilly declined [23]. He confessed that he had assembled forty-four thousand French, Swiss,

was not a time between for the taking of his refections;' but 'such moderation, abstinence and diet, hath been used by his highness, that the fever and disease is now totally departed, and these five or six days past has had no return.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 38.

[20] MS. ib. 38.

[21] On 11th May, sir R. Jerningham went out of England to co-operate with Fitzwilliam. They report, that on 17th they were told they could not see Francis, because he was hunting; on 18th, because he and his mother would make a public entry into Dijon; and on 19th, because, being Whitsunday, it was a high day, and the king confessed and healed sick folk, but on the Monday they should be admitted. Letter 24th May, MS. ib. p. 40.

[22] Lett. ib. p. 41. he stated, 'as to the report that the emperor might have my lady princess as he would, he never believed that, nor gave credit to the same. He had lever have her, tho the king had ten children, than the king of Portugal's daughter, and all the spices her father hath.' Lett. ib. p. 40.

[23] 'He answered, that he trusted the king his brother would desire nothing which should be to his dishonor; that the emperor had oppressed him so long, and done him such wrong, that he could not as yet give up this matter with honor.' The ambassadors add; 'We could bring him to no other point.' Lett. ib. 41.

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and Germans; and he submitted to Henry that the charges of such a force admitted of no delay [24].

The secret truth appears to have been, that Spain having taken the advantage in the war against Louis XIII. of using the English forces to subdue Navarre, Francis had resolved to re-conquer it. He thought it might be surprised by a bold invasion; he sent into it the young king of Navarre, who had been driven out, with fourteen thousand soldiers, to regain it, and surprised the embassy by suddenly informing them that these troops had entered and were occupying this little frontier kingdom. He pleaded in his justification that the emperor was assembling fourteen thousand men in French Compte to invade him, and that he should proceed in person to Picardy to act against him; again asserting that his royal rival was going to England to marry the princess Mary [25].

The ambassadors sought a conference with his mother, to announce firmly to her, that altho if her son kept all his covenants and promises no breach would come on their sovereign's part; yet if invasions were made on either side, he would be restrained by neither love nor fear, but would discharge his conscience according to his engagements [26]. They solicited the king to suspend the war till they could apprize their court of his intentions; but to this request, and to another that he would wait only fourteen days,

[24] Lett. 24 May. p. 41. and see Bellay, 99.

[25] MS. Cal. D. 8. Lett. 24 May. p. 41. M. Bellay mentions that Charles had agreed, by his deputies at Noyen, to give up Navarre within six months to its king, or to satisfy him with an equivalent compensation elsewhere; and that Francis had bound himself to aid the king of Navarre if this engagement was not fulfilled. p. 101.

[26] Ib. 41.

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they received a positive refusal, followed by a communication that he had won Navarre [27].

Altho pacification became improbable after a movement like this, the English government exerted itself to harmonize the wrathful competitors by its friendly mediations. On the same day, the 29th of May, the result of its offers was announced by its ambassadors at each court. The emperor consented to the arbitration, if his dominions were not invaded [28]; but the king of France declined it, because he mistrusted Charles, and thought he had secured the triumph, and would not agree to any delay [29].

The ambassadors believed that nothing had occurred which might not have been left with honor to Henry's award; but they intimated to his prime minister that they thought some greater enterprise than Navarre was in the contemplation of Francis, which he meant to conceal till he had secretly accomplished it, and suggested that Naples might be the prize he aimed at [30]. His attention was indeed on this object.

[27] MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 42. The ambassadors subjoin to their dispatch, 'As we take it, he thinketh himself now even. The emperor hath won a castle of master Robert, and he hath now won a realm of his.' Ib. 42.

[28] Sir Rich. Wingfield wrote from Worms, 'I do find no difficulty, but that the emperor, at the loving request of the king of England, is and will be well contented as well to forbear all hostility and war, notwithstanding the special provocation by them to the contrary; as also that all variance depending between the crown imperial and the French king be pacified by the mediation of the king of England, in case, on the French king's part, none of the places belonging to the emperor be invaded.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 44.

[29] Sir W. Fitzwilliam's dispatch was, 'We shewed the French king how the emperor had offered to put into the king's hand all such differences. He answered, he perceived well the dissimulation of the said emperor; that he never could have him at a better advantage than he here may, for the electors of Almayn would grant him nothing, and that he had failed with the Swiss. Wherefore, all these considered, he would not forbear, nor lose a minute of an hour of time.' MS. ib. 47.

[30] MS. fb. p: 47.

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The emperor had covenanted to pay him an annual tribute in lieu of his claims on this kingdom; but had neglected the payment[31]. Francis had entered into a league with the pope to recover this territory; but not moving to arms so quickly as to satisfy his holiness, the papal policy veered round to Charles, and gave him the investiture of the disputed crown[32]. Francis indignant at his desertion, and suspecting other plans as alarming, became more determined to try the issue of his sword.

To interest Henry to combine with him against France, was the unceasing purpose of the emperor's negotiations. He therefore answered the further invitations of the king of England by again accepting of his mediation[33]; but with a condition of full reparation[34], which was a dictation instead of a submission to its decision of the award. This condition was again, with the addition of restitution, annexed to a proposal, that he, as well as Francis, should lay down their arms while the mediation was effectuating[35]. Such a limit to an arbitrator's judgment

[31] Bellay. 100–4.

[32] Bellay. 109.

[33] Wingfield, on 12th June 1521, thus wrote to Fitzwilliam: 'The emperor, notwithstanding the ruffling which the French king has caused to be made in his realm of Navarre, will not change opinion, but the king's grace shall for his part be mediator for the pacifying of all variances and differences.' MS. Cal. ib. 58.

[34] 'He trusted to such reparations—for he will not lose the least village—but he shall put as well his person, as all the residue, in hazard for the same.' ib. 58.

[35] Three days after the preceding letter, Wingfield had another conference with the emperor, who made this answer; 'That the fashion of the Frenchmen had been, under the color of treaty, to take their advantage; and specially when they have had their puissance and arms in a readiness as they now have.' Whereto I said, 'That I thought to avoid all suspicions in this behalf, it was necessary before entering into treaty, to lay down the arms on both parts;'—'which opinion he nothing unliked, provided that as well restitution as reparation, might be made unto him for such invasion and damage as may have been done in his realm of Navarre.' MS. ib. 69.

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made the reference but a verbal fallacy. Charles meant to approve of no decision that did not fully reinstate him[36]. Francis felt that neither would consent to any sacrifice; that Henry's interference could not pacify; and that the English government must either leave them by its neutrality to fight out their differences by their own means of warfare, or must select the party he meant to befriend; and the indication it had given of preference to Charles, made the French king more abrupt with the English ambassadors, and more resolved to refuse the offered mediation[37]. Wolsey then suggested, at least, a truce for a few months, to allow time for some beneficial negotiation; but Francis would listen to no proposal that operated to arrest his military projects[38]. The pope also encouraged him not to make this concession[39]. But the English ambassadors discerned a desire for peace about the French court[40], from

[36] On Wingfield's intimating his opinion that Francis ought to restore Navarre, the emperor replied, 'which thing he should do, or else, according to his former saying, he should have the residue of his realms and his life with them.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 69.

[37] Near Dijon, the embassy apprizes Wolsey, on 2d July, that they had delivered to Francis the king's letter and article. He said, 'he thought it strange that the king his brother desired him to submit and compromise all things into his hands, for there was never heretofore none of his predecessors of France that had bounden himself to any such bond.' MS. ib. p. 66.

[38] 'On Sunday, we perceived the king looked somewhat more strangely upon us than he was wont. He said, the truce was made as much for the emperor's advantage as could be, for eight months, in which time the emperor's army would be in readiness.' ib. 67.

[39] 'The admiral said, that on yesterday the pope's ambassador came to the king, his master, and said to him, 'Sir! will ye put matters into the king of England's hands. I would advise you, take good heed what ye do, and to trust not too far. Cal. D. 8. Lett. 2 July, p. 67.

[40] 'Our opinion is, as we can perceive, by my lady's saying, and all the nobility and gentlemen of the court, they desire peace above all things. The king and admiral make it strange, because they think they have the advantage of the other; yet we think they would in their hearts be content to have a peace.' MS. ib.

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a perception that the emperor was stronger than it had expected, provided they should remain in the possession of Navarre[41].

The dispatches of our diplomacy at both courts present to us a lively portrait of the feelings and minds of these princely rivals for the command of Europe. When sir R. Wingfield expressed to the emperor, Henry's desire that he should abstain from war, and as the Mahometans had taken Tunis, should compromise with France, he reminded the ambassador of the capture of Navarre[42]. His chancellor also required, that his master's projected marriage with Mary should be now reduced to a certainty[43], especially as Wolsey had declared, which they repeated with exultation, that the warlike measures of Francis had annulled the treaties between him and England[44].

The emperor until this period had an ambassador from himself at the French court, who now withdrew, bearing with him, in reply to a friendly overture[45],

[41] 'And for two reasons—1st, They think that the emperor hath made some provision, so as he is stronger and better than they thought he should have been. 2d, So that they might rest with Navarre, they have the thing they desire.' MS. 67.

[42] Letter 19th June 1521, from Brussels. MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 26.

[43] 'The chancellor adding, that his master might not longer continue without taking party one way or other in his marriage.' On this, Wingfield remarks, 'We perceive, evidently, that all their foundation resteth clearly in making one more strong alliance and communication with the king's highness; which done, they do reckon there shall be the perfect and perpetual establishment of both their estates.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 26.

[44] 'They be joyous to hear from their ambassador, that your grace has declared unto him, that both their master and ours be at their liberty, by reason of the treaties and peace broken and violated by the French king.' MS. Gal. ib. p. 26.

[45] Wingfield, on 22d June 1521, reports to Wolsey from Brussels, 'that the emperor had sent for him, and shewed that don provost of Otterick, was returned out of France, and declared, on taking leave of

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an undisguised avowal from Francis, of his personal hostility to his master, which that minister carefully retailed to the English envoy, that it might make the impression he desired on the feelings of Henry[46]. A peace for a few years was unhesitatingly rejected by the French sovereign, who concealed no part of his mind in this decisive interview[47], which Charles was anxious to have communicated to Henry and his minister[48].

The English cabinet, for awhile inattentive to the partial representations of both combatants, renewed its efforts to persuade them to a truce, from an unwillingness to assume arms against either. Spinelly was therefore instructed to urge the emperor to this temporary arrangement[49]. He executed his com-

the French king, he asked him what he would command him towards his master; saying, moreover, it were better for them both to be friends, and live in in peace, than to continue in the way they be gone.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 35.

[46] The provost's continued account, as recited by Charles, was, 'Whereunto the French king answered, He knew well his said master did not love him; and no more did he him: wherefore he was utterly determined to be his enemy, and deal with him by all means as such deliberations required.' MS. ib. 35.

[47] 'The said provost desiring that at least he should desist for two or three years; the French king said plainly, He would not do it, but take his advantage, and proceed in his enterprize with all his power, to the best he could, thinking that he could never have a better opportunity than at this present; for in giving him a respite for two or three years, he might too much increase.' MS. ib.

[48] Wingfield subjoins to the above—'Whereupon the emperor, with much instance, desired me to shew to the king's highness, and your grace, the premises. He notes, that Fleuranges had been taken in his family castle, and sent to Namur.' MS. ib.

[49] On 25th June, Spinelly apprised Wolsey from Brussels, 'Yesterday morning I went to the emperor with your letters. He sent for his chancellor and lord Berges. Before high mass, we went all three together in a chamber apart, the bishop of Palencia, and three others, following us. The emperor resting himself at the chamber door, said, 'He need not of so many.' All they went back again.' MS. ib. p. 37.

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mission with a prudent earnestness[50]; but the imperial answer required, as a preliminary, the restoration of Navarre[51]. Charles also expressed a wish to send an invitation to Wolsey to come to the continent, for a more confidential negotiation[52], and added the information that the French king was even proceeding to make aggressions from an army on the Pyrennees into Castile[53]. Spinelly communicated, at the same time, to his court, the news he had heard of the revolution in the warlike policy of him who claimed to be the European head of a religion whose characteristics are amity, benevolence and peace[54]. Leo X. had assembled his cardinals, given Naples to Charles, and declared war against France[55].

Henry decidedly protested against the invasion of

[50] 'Then I began to declare to his majesty the coming into England of sir William Fitzwilliam; persuading, that without delay he should consent and grant the truce and compromise; shewing, that otherwise it was thought that the king's highness's honor ne your grace's for your coming over could be concerned, which you were sure his majesty would regard as his own.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 37.

[51] He mentioned, 'For the surprise of Navarre, since the offers of the mediation, he is determined not to entende to any concord without that first be restored.' ib.

[52] 'As to the nearer communication between the king's highness and his majesty, if your pleasure be to come over under the other color, and to treat and conclude that matter, the emperor shall not lack to appoint such personage and commissioners as by the king's highness shall be named' ib. 37.

[53] MS. ib.

[54] 'By letters of the 14th from Rome, the pope promised to do many things for the emperor, seeing the king's highness takes his part.' MS. ib.

[55] Wingfield, on 13th July 1521, reported to Wolsey from the communications he had received. 'First the pope assembled a consistory, in the presence of the French ambassador, and gave the investiture of Naples to the emperor. Secondly, received an ambling horse, as a sign of feudality. Thirdly, declared himself enemy to the French king, jointly with the emperor; and fourthly, made the marquis of Mantua his general.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 62.

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Castile[56]; but the combination of the pope with Charles disposed Francis to be more civil to the English envoys[57], and to consent to some overture for an English mediation[58], and to send a commissioner to Calais[59]. Military reverses began also to occur. By a sudden irruption of a secretly prepared force, he had entered and gained Navarre. But he soon found that unexpected surprise is an uncertain acquisition. What can be easily lost may, by analogous means, be as easily regained. And he perceived to his own astonishment, before July was ended, that the troops of Charles were dispossessing him of his conquest: he lost it more rapidly than he had taken it[60].

It required some diplomatic assurance for the French king to impute to the English government his loss of Navarre. But he sent ambassadors to England, who, in the latter part of July made this their first article of complaint personally to Henry[61];

[56] 'As to request of the emperor's adversary, for an invasion of Castile, we shewed unto him, that the king's grace would give none ear thereto according to your letter.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 69.

[57] Fitzwilliam and Jerningham wrote to Wolsey on 13th July: 'This day we came to the king's presence, who entertained us with marvellous familiarity, and brought us into his secret garderobe.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 69.

[58] Their dispatch stated, 'As to the authority he hath given to the king's highness, to be a mediator, he saith he is right glad that the king's grace is well contented thereat.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 69. The letters patent of Francis, empowering Henry to settle his differences with the emperor, are dated 1st July 1521, and are in Rymer, 13. p. 748.

[59] MS. ib. p. 70.

[60] 'Par faute de bon conseil, apres avoir conquis le dit royaume entièrement, en un instant le reperdit.' M. Bellay, p. 110.

[61] The king's secretary, Pace, informed Wolsey from Windsor, 20th July 1521, that the French embassador arrived the preceding day, and after dinner declared his charge. 'That the king, his master, had suffered the loss and destruction of his army in the realm of Navarre; for that he hearkened to peace and diminished his said army there, at the king's instance.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 77.

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and received from him upon the spot, a denial and prompt confutation of the charge[62], with a demonstration, from what the ambassador confessed, that the vicissitudes proceeded from their own master's misjudgment[63]. They accused the pope of precipitating hostilities, which Henry imputed to his apprehensions[64]. They declined to send negotiating commissioners to meet Wolsey, as the deciding umpire at Calais, and demanded the aid of England against the emperor's aggressions[65]. Henry expressed his surprise at this determination[66], and admonished them to reflect upon its consequences[67].

The dread that the English power would be efficiently exerted against the most contumacious party, at last induced both rivals to humor its king and minister, so far as to approve ostensibly of Wolsey's coming to Calais, as Henry's political lieutenant and viceroy arbiter, and to send ambassadors to state their grievances before him: both secretly resolving to be bound by nothing that he should determine

[62] 'The king answered, that the French king could not with his honor impute unto him the loss of his said army, by reason of the ministering of the same at his instance, *for he never desired* him to do so; but monydde him, as true and faithful brother, confederate and ally, to begin no war, considering that the end of the same was doubtful.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 78.

[63] 'Mons. de Labbar, declaring plainly, that they diminished their said army because they saw the Spaniards in no readiness to offend them; and that these gathered an army suddenly and in haste incredible. The king said, if it so were, they might more reasonably impute their loss to their great captains, who should have kept them whole, than to him.' MS. ib.

[64] MS. ib. [65] MS. ib. p. 77.

[66] 'He marvelled greatly of that message, remembering that the king had promised the same; and by reason thereof, his grace had induced the emperor to do the semblable.' MS. ib.

[67] 'He might, peradventure, lose thereby his great reputation, especially in Italy; for it should then appear to all men, that the pope, emperor, and he would join against him.' MS. ib. 78.

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against their interests; but to trust eventually to their own arms, for the gratification of their individual ambition. The only real aim of either was to neutralize the hostility of England, or to turn it on his adversary; and in this result the emperor proved himself to be the most dexterous statesman.

Wolsey went to Calais in all the state he loved. It was the proudest day of his ambitious life. What the English ambassador said nominally of the king, he knew would be applied only to himself [68].

The 4th of August was appointed for the diplomatic congress in that town, but Francis prepared for vigorous warfare. He sent a new army of French and Swiss into Italy, and divided his forces into four separate bodies; to one, under the duke of Alençon, he assigned the defence of Champagne; and to the duke of Vendome, that of Picardy; he stationed Bonnevet in Guyenne, and committed to Lautrec the care of Milan, while he himself took the field against the emperor [69].

The discussions at Calais became less likely to end in peace, by the emperor seeking to wrest from France the duchy of Burgundy, and to abolish the usual homage to the crown of France, for the Low Countries [70]. The personal feelings of the two contending princes against each other continued in an

[68] 'We cannot a little rejoice, to see the king's highness have so great honor, as to see the emperor and French king, which two rule the most part of Christendom, send their chancellors to his town of Calais, there to debate the matter afore your grace, which is not only to the king's high honor and yours, but also we assure your grace, is here marvellous greatly esteemed, as we hear from time to time.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 70.

[69] M. Bellay, 113–115. Henry's letters patent, appointing Wolsey his secretary at Calais, are dated 29th July. Rym. 13. p. 749.

[70] Bellay, 118.

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exasperated state[71]. Tho defeated in Navarre, Francis still expected some great triumph in Italy[72]. His mother, formerly pacific, adopted his irritation and his hopes[73]. The pope became an object of their satire[74]; and the secret but not unknown conduct of Henry's cabinet, had destroyed in the French mind, all reliance on his honor[75]. Their angry dispositions increased, as the rumor spread that Wolsey, the professed impartial arbiter, meant to visit the emperor in Flanders[76].

That Francis was right in his mistrust of the English government, and that underhand measures were concerting with Charles, contrary to the public faith of such an apparently impartial meeting as the congress of Calais, is too visible in the recorded documents for the credit of the rulers.

It is clear that Wolsey went, after having planned some military arrangements with the emperor that were concealed from the French Court. A body of six thousand archers was preparing by Wolsey's

[71] Francis told the English envoy, 'The emperor hath been at Ghent; said he was born there, and trusted they would help him, for he would leave the king of France in his shirt.' Lett. 2d August, Cal. D. p. 84.

[72] Lett. ib.

[73] Fitzwilliam writes: 'The same day I spake with the king's mother. She said, 'I should surely see shortly what the purpose of Francis was. She doubted not, afore this month and the next were at an end, the emperor shall have no cause so to avaunt him.' I was sorry to see her speak so like a man of war, as she was ever my comfort for peace.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 84.

[74] 'I devised with the king's sister, and she shewed me many things of the pope's act, which, an it be as she saith, his deeds be as little to his honor as may be.' MS. Lett. 2d Aug. Cal. D. 8. p. 84.

[75] The ambassador honestly adds to Wolsey: 'To ascertain your grace plainly, I perceive well they trust the king's highness never a whit; but, for fear, keep him up with fair words and provide for the worst, and so I perceive every day, more and more.' MS. Lett. ib.

[76] On 6th August, Francis informed Fitzwilliam, that he had heard this for a truth. MS. ib. p. 86.

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advice, in pursuance of some previous schemes with Charles[77]; a resolution to attack France, had either been made, or was contemplating; and Henry was forming a secret plan of his own to destroy the French navy[78]. Francis was clearly right in not submitting his national interests to arbitrators like these.

So fully connected was this mediatorial congress with the emperor's plans and wishes, that he was delighted to hear of Wolsey's arrival at Calais, and moved immediately from Ghent to Bruges[79], to be ready to receive the cardinal as Francis had anticipated.

The original letters from Henry, from Charles, and the cardinal, preserved in the British Museum, shew, what, if it were on subjects of common life between man and man, we should unhesitatingly call, the knavery of this pretended mediation and umpirage. The only person that was acting with openness was

[77] Pace wrote on 28th July, from the king's side at Windsor to Wolsey: 'The king have concluded according to your advice and counsel, to put in readiness 5 or 6,000 archers, to be ready to do service, at such time as your grace shall have concluded with the emperor, according to such communications as *ye have had between you both* in that behalf.' 'He will devise upon a great captain to conduct them.' The orig. letter is in Galba, B. 7. p. 87.

[78] On the same 28th of July, before Wolsey had reached Calais, the same royal secretary states; 'The king over and above this, signifies to your grace, one of his own secret devises, and desires to hear your opinion thereon with diligence. His highness thinks, that at such times as all things shall be concluded between the emperor and him, according to his mind, and a resolution taken to invade France, then it shall be necessary for them both to provide for the destruction of the French king's navy.' MS. ib. p. 88.

[79] Spinelly's dispatch from Ghent, of 4th Aug. 1521. MS. ib. p. 90, 1. 'Your grace's landing was shewed to the emperor, whereof, as well by his royal countenance as by his words, I perceived he was as glad as is possible. He commanded his officers to prepare for his going to Bruges. He shewed me to be entirely satisfied and pleased with such communications of his said ambassadors with your grace.'

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Francis. He was ambitious and restless, but here he was frank. He pursued the war, refused truces, and resolved to press his advantages. Wolsey sailed to Calais as one who was to be an impartial arbiter between two great sovereigns, and personating as such, both his royal master and his country's integrity, and yet went with secret schemes and treaties, agreed on between himself and the emperor, for hostile measures against Francis: a mockery of all unbiassed equity, sullying the honor both of the nation and the throne.

To the Machiavellian arch-priest of this state duplicity, the king's private secretary Pace wrote, by his royal master's command[80], on the 7th of August, directly after the cardinal had reached Calais, a letter, which proves, that the bargain for joining Charles against Francis, in the midst of this deceitful arbitrage, was pursuing by the English cabinet, with the most mercenary prudence[81]; that Henry had consented to take Mary from the dauphin, and give her to Charles[82]; and that with all a watchful lawyer's caution he was seeking for some plausible evidence to justify, what the caution showed that he felt to be

[80] So Wolsey says, 'Your secretary writeth by your commandment.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 101.

[81] The letter is dated from Oaking, where Henry then was. 'The king has received your two letters, dated Calais, the 4th of this month. By these, his highness perceives the serious disputations between your grace and the emperor's ambassadors, for *his indemnity* of such sums of money as his grace, by likelihood, *shall lose*, if he break with the French king and join the emperor, *according to his desire:* and that your grace has so handled this matter, that you hope he shall have yearly paid 40,000 marks, instead of the 16,000 *l.* paid now by the said king.' MS. ib. p. 92.

[82] 'And that the said ambassadors have shewn themselves marvellously desirous of alliance between the emperor and the lady princess. *His grace is well contented therewith.*' MS. ib.

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bad faith [83]. It also reveals the curious fact, that Wolsey intended to act as the general [84] as well as the statesman; but that Henry was too desirous of military reputation himself, to let his minister add its laurels to his own red cap [85]. On the same day, the emperor expressed to the cardinal, his wishes to conclude personally with him, their final arrangements, and to be guided entirely by him [86], but gently rebuking his procrastination [87]; and Wolsey, going immediately afterwards to the emperor at Bruges, sent his sovereign from thence a dispatch [88], which states his labors not to keep Henry absolutely out of the war, but to defer the explosion till he was quite

[83] The king 'has marked in your letters the manifest declaring of breach of amity on the French king's part, showed to your grace *by the emperor's ambassadors*, evidently appearing by the said king's own letters, directed to his orator at Rome. He thinketh the *same letters should be surely kept*, that he upon that substantial ground, may break with the said king *at his pleasure*.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 92.

[84] Henry had, in a former letter, intimated to Wolsey, 'He should think of some great captain,' to command the 6,000 archers. See before, note 77. We now learn Wolsey's answer to this. 'The king also perceiveth by the same letter, that in case the army of 6,000 archers shall be sent forth in aid of the emperor, *your grace then intendeth to order and govern the same yourself*, at their arrival to the said emperor, and to proceed actually with them. His highness doth remit this unto your grace's wisdom.' MS. ib. 93.

[85] This intimation of his own wishes, not to be put on the shelf by his martial cardinal, he chose, perhaps from delicacy, to express in Latin, by having the following passage inserted, as if his verbal dictation, in his secretary's English letter, to let him know, that if this minister went to fight, he would go too. 'Et *si ibitis* parare regi locum in regno hereditario. *Majestas ejus* quum tempus erit opportunum, *sequetur*.' MS. ib. p. 93. This is a specimen of Henry's colloquial Latin.

[86] Letter from Charles V. to Wolsey. Bruges, 7th August 1521. 'I remain also in my resolution to conclude *with you myself*: and to use entirely your good advice and counsel.' MS. ib. p. 95.

[87] 'But, it is a great injury, de tant retarder mes affaires.' MS. ib.

[88] This is the fair copy of his letter to Henry, in the cardinal's own handwriting. It is dated generally August 1521. On comparing Henry's answer in p. 99, we find that it was sent from Bruges on the 19th of that month.

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ready to wage it[89]; thus explaining the tardiness hinted by Charles, and expressing his intention to take his sovereign's personal directions for his future activity[90]; but he soon adds a postscript, announcing that the emperor had declined the truce, and then unsaying what he had said before, justified him for that very refusal[91] which had been such a capital offence in Francis, that this prince was obliged to retract it. The sequel of Wolsey's epistle manifests to all who read; that before he left England, he had bound it to unite with Charles in a warfare against France[92]; and one of the reasons for his waving the

[89] He says, 'Assuring your highness, I have omitted nothing in the capacity of my intendment that mought in anywise tend to the advancement of your honor, or furtherance of the establishment of that truce between these great princes; making the longer mine abode here to perfect the said truce rather for keeping your grace out of the wars *till ye might be sufficiently furnished* for the same, than for any other intent, cause or occasion.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 45.

[90] 'Nevertheless, now have I brought the same matter to a narrow point, abiding only an answer from the emperor, which had, whether he shall be agreeable to the truce or refuse the same, I purpose forthwith to repair to your presence for the accomplishment of your noble pleasure in such matters as it shall please your grace to commit unto me, with all my wit, industry and power.' MS. ib.

[91] 'As I was thus far gone in my present letter, the emperor's chancellor brought me his credentials, and tho, by my other letter, I declared at good length *how necessary* and expedient *the acceptance* of a truce and abstinence of war should be to the said emperor, remitting the determination thereof to the emperor and his counsel, to whom the state of his affairs were better known, than to me; yet by the purport of the same letters many great grounds and urgent causes be opened, moving the said emperor, rather to put over the taking of a truce for a time, than now to accept the same. *I much allow and approve his said reasons.*' These reasons which he states were not equitable considerations as between both sovereigns; but 'By these and other right proposed reasons, the emperor thinketh it *more beneficial for him* to forbear accepting the said truce for a season.' MS. ib. 46, 7, and therefore this impartial referee approves his refusal.

[92] Among the reasons alleged is; 'As Fontarabbie is the principal port where your subjects be accustomed to arrive in these parts, and as it shall be greatly expedient and necessary that the same be held *for the advancement and furtherance of these great enterprizes concluded* between

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truce actually was, that it would not suit these intended hostilities; so that if the French king had rested on the English good faith in this pretended mediation, he would have fallen an easy prey to their fraudulent diplomacy. Happily for his own honor and security, he was indefatigable in providing a competent force. He watched his undermining enemy, and the crafty cardinal, who with the mask of peace and candor on his hidden face[93], was conspiring his ruin; and observing attentively what forces Charles had assembled on his frontiers, and what more he had purchased from the shambles of Switzerland, and was expecting from Spain[94], he made his own patriotic preparations, with an energy and a judgment which did not hesitate to announce its fearlessness[95], while it reminded Henry to what a sacrifice of kingly feeling he had submitted, in sending his ambassador to Calais by his desire[96]. Francis did not then know how

you and the emperor, to be set forth *against France* for the recovery of both your rights; the said emperor and his counsel thinketh more expedient to forbear the acceptance of the said truce.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 47.

[93] Altho at the emperor's court, meditating enterprises against him, yet Wolsey had the treacherous dissimulation to cause the English ambassadors to Francis to seek friendly and confidential audiences with him. One of these, about 14th Aug. Fitzwilliam describes in his letter of that day, in MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 87.

[94] Francis enumerated these to Fitzwilliam, who says, 'The king entertained me very favorably. He showed me that captain Francisco was by this time joined with de Nassau's band, which two be about 11,000 High Almans, 9,000 Base Almans, 4,000 horse, and saith he shall have within this fortnight 12,000 Swiss and 15 or 16,000 footmen of his own realm, and 2,000 Spaniards.' MS. Cal. ib.

[95] 'He said, his towns were so well ordered and so strong, that he doubted not they should hold till he came to raise the siege, and bade me advertise your grace that tho the emperor make difficulty to take truce or make a final peace, he careth not: for as he is now provided he feareth not that the said emperor shall annoy him in nothing with the war.' MS. Cal. ib.

[96] 'And he desireth your grace to move the king's highness to con-

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completely this was a pantomime of cheatery, but he obviously suspected it, and therefore guarded himself against a possibility, which soon became a perilous reality. The conduct of the English government can be neither extenuated nor justified. We can only intimate, what the dispatches of this juncture show so completely, that what Henry wrote and did, was but in echo and execution of the cardinal's official suggestions; so that it seems fairest to both to divide the moral question between the king and his prime minister, by allotting to the sovereign the degradation of being a pliant dupe, and to Wolsey the distinction of acting, unblushingly, the part of an unprincipled and interested knave. The cardinal also chose to have the drama entirely to himself[97].

When Wolsey went to Bruges with a train and royal guard of four hundred horse, the emperor, who perfectly understood his vain-glorious character, received him like an actual sovereign[98], to the surprise

sider that he hath done at his request what he would not have done for all the princes living; that is, to send his chancellor to Calais.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 87. As to the self-selling Swiss, Francis informed Fitzwilliam, that his general in Italy, 'M. Lautrec hath at this hour 13,000 Swiss.' MS. ib. So that Switzerland continued to be a real 'officina' of mercenary soldiers.

[97] We find that he had desired Henry not to let other assistants come to him. Pace says, 'The king allows your opinion in keeping at home the lord marquis, the lord steward and the lord chamberlain.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 93.

[98] 'Without Bruges he was received with many noblemen and many lords and other of the emperor's court. And, a mile without Bruges, the emperor, *his own person met him*, and showed to him and to the other lords and gentlemen of England gracious countenance, and so accompanied the cardinal into the town; and so rode to the emperor's palace, where he alighted, and *first embraced* the cardinal; and after, all the lords, knights und gentlemen of England.' Hall, 625.

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CHAP. X.

of the old chronicler, who records and searches for a reason to account for it[99].

Wolsey remained thirteen days at Bruges[100], and what he did there without any new provocation from Francis, evinces the real spirit in which he went. He had, or pretended to have had, such difficulties in settling the marketing part of the negotiation[101], tho the essential articles had been before concluded, as to think himself warranted in imputing to their discussion, an illness which was more likely to have resulted from his festivities[102]. The king acquiesced in attributing it to his diplomatic labors[103]; and on the 25th of August, the articles of iniquity were settled, under the 'bene placitum'[104] of the pope,

[99] 'It is to suppose that the emperor knew of the commission given to the said cardinal, which had the king's power as if his grace had been present; and also had the great seal with him, which had not been seen before, *or else* the emperor would not have done him so high honor and reverence.' Hall, p. 625.

[100] Hall, p. 627.

[101] On 24th August Wolsey wrote to the king, 'Sir,—If such differences, arguments, and persuasions as have been used by the emperor's counsel from day to day, were to your grace known; and the reasons by me set forth to the confutation of the same, sometimes with sharp words and sometimes in pleasant manner, with the labors, business, and study that I have taken thereon, whereby, for lack of sleep, I have been inquieted with sundry diseases, your grace shall evidently perceive that I have omitted nothing.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 101.

[102] These was a sufficient abundance of these to have produced sleepless nights and bilious days. Besides their outdoor banquets, Hall says of the cardinal's party, they 'were well lodged, every man after his degree, and every lodging furnished with fewel, bread, beer, wine, beeves, muttons, veals, lambs, venisons, and all manner dainty viand, as well in fish as flesh, with no lack of spices and banqueting dishes.' p. 625.

[103] Therefore, on 24th August, the secretary wrote; 'The king is sorry for your grace's disease; desires you to regard your health;' and on 29th, 'His highness understands the great trouble, vexation and ingerness of mind, with the sundry diseases of your body, in the debatings with the emperor's counsel from day to day.' MS. ib. 99 and 113.

[104] Such is their title. See them in Galba, B. 7. p. 104, dated Bruges, 25th August 1521.

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which stipulated that Henry and Charles should unite, not only to defend their dominions, but to recover what belonged to them, which France possessed; and therefore in March 1523, (above eighteen months afterwards) should declare themselves openly, to be the enemies of the French king, and make war upon him, and that before the 15th of the following May, each should in his own person, with ten thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, invade France; and that for the firmer establishment of this federation, and to make it indissoluble, "notwithstanding the spousals between the dauphin and Mary," she should now be married to the emperor, for which being cousins, a dispensation should be obtained [105]. Such secret articles during a mediatorial reference, may be characterised as base, without our having any of the spleen of a cynical Diogenes. But a more flagitious clause was inserted, to gratify the pope [106]; an agreement to begin a violent persecution both in the English and imperial dominions against all who differed in opinion with the Romish church, or should oppose its doctrines or impede the papal power [107]. Nothing can vindicate Henry's memory, for a contract like this. The sovereign that lends himself to

[105] MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 104.

[106] One of the articles is, to take the patrocinum of the pope against every one, p. 108. And the persecuting clause is introduced with, 'because the greatest care of the pope is for spiritual affairs.' MS. ib. 109.

[107] They covenant, that 'all and each in their dominions who *seem* to think badly on the catholic faith, or to endeavor to disturb that catholic faith or the apostolic seat, and presume to hurt its dignity, authority, and power, both princes shall wholly coerce with due remedies and 'distringant' upon them, all the force in their power, and pursue them, and endeavor to avenge all the injuries touching the christian religion, which these shall bring upon the seat of Christ, as if they were done to themselves.' MS. ib. p. 109.

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be the instrument of a sacerdotal tyranny, deserves a reprobation and a contempt, which charity to our fellow creatures compels every virtuous and honorable mind, unsparingly, however regrettingly, both to feel and to express. It is the lowest degradation of social inhumanity. It might suit a pope and papal legates of that day, as it has been imitated by them since; but it was a brand of irremoveable dishonor upon the king. The tiara has never made the crown the servant of its favor, but to disgrace it by its servility.

Wolsey accompanied the formation of these articles with the presentation of Henry's book against Luther, to the pope; and that, with a solicitation to his holiness, to make a temporary suspension of the war against France, in order to enter into it more effectually, with Charles and Henry afterwards[108],—both very suspicious circumstances—both presenting a coincidence of chronology, which induces the reasoning mind to ask if the subtle machinator for the papal chair may not also have incited or encouraged his sovereign to write his work, from the hope of extracting from it a merit with the deeply interested conclave, and from the emperor, who had chosen to take the side against Luther, that might dispose it to assist his projected advancement. That sir Thomas More, on reading the king's book against Luther,

[108] Wolsey, in his letter to Henry of 24th Agust 1521, adds, 'And, sir! what order I have taken in the instruction of your orators resident in the court of Rome, as well for the deliverance of your book against Luther to the pope's holiness, as also in edifying the pope to an abstinence of war for the time, and to join himself to enter the war against France with your grace and the emperor when the case shall require.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 101. On the 19th, he had apprised Henry that 'the pope cannot yet be induced to condescend to a truce till he have seen the end and success of his and the emperor's army and enterprize for the expelling the Frenchmen out of Milan.' MS. ib. 47.

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advised him to leave out the part which maintained the supremacy of the pope, or else to touch it more slenderly, he mentions himself[100], but he was overruled, and the cardinal by his own letter shows that he was active in forwarding the work to Rome. It is not unlikely to have originated, less from Henry's literary conscience, than from Wolsey's crafty contrivances; he who could make the royal sword his merchandize, may have also trafficked with his sovereign's pen.

The period at which the book was composed, is not undeserving of notice. It was after Wolsey had begun to look forward to the popedom, and at the time that the pope, abandoning Francis, had settled his policy to unite with the emperor, and with England, and to expel the French out of Italy, and when the mind of Francis was balancing on the reformation, and had begun to emancipate his church from some portion of its papal bondage.

The cardinal's next letter to his sovereign, written only ten days after the date of these nefarious articles, and upon his return to Calais, affixes a new stain of disgrace both on the writer and his correspondent. It is proper to have a delicacy in attaching coarse expressions to such distinguished persons; but if we withhold the word, can we prevent the thought, that it was, at least, acting like swindlers, when having determined on the joint war against Francis, Henry asks his minister's counsel, whether, if he should take a precaution about his shipping, it might not make

[100] In his letter to Cromwell. Roper's Life, Singer's ed. App. 119. His reason was, 'for doubt of such things as might after hap to fall in question between his highness and some pope.' ib.

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the French king suspect the meditated hostility, and therefore withhold that quarter's pension, which was about to become due[110]? The minister suppresses all scruple, by declaring, that from the embarrassment of Francis, he thought there was no danger[111]. Thus the war resolved on was to be concealed as long as possible, to trick Francis by the appearance of friendship, out of as many payments of a pension, the price of peace, as could, by the continuance of the deception, be fraudulently smuggled; and this too at the very time when Wolsey was repeating to Henry the kindly expressions of the French king towards him[112]. Yet such was the cardinal's mind and his heart, that he could put all these topics in one letter, and at last close that letter with a triumphant intimation, that the French cabinet knew nothing of his secret and perfidious treaties with the imperial court[113].

We cannot wonder after this to read, that tho only uncertain doubts and fears of these concealed dealings were abroad, the English ambassador found himself shunned in respectable French society[114].

[110] Wolsey, on 4th September from Calais, thus recites his master's letter:—'Considering the dangers that might ensue by taking your navy at Bourdeaux, and the suspicion that might be impressed on the French king's mind by the abstaining of your said navy from thence, *which might cause him to refrain and stop your pension payable unto you within brief time*; you desire me to consider what is best to be done. MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 50.

[111] After great compliments to Henry for his wary foresight, the cardinal says, 'I think the French king being troubled and infested with so many enemies and armies on every side, will beware how he attempts any thing against you, whereby he shall give occasion or provoke you to break with him and join his enemies.' MS. ib.

[112] 'The chancellor of France, after he had dined with me, declared expressly, that not only the king his master hath in you his most affiance before all other princes, but also plainly shewed, that unto such advice and counsel as I, in your name, and as your lieutenant, should show unto him.' MS. ib. p. 50.

[113] —'As yet for any bruit, or any thing concluded with the emperor, they have no manner suspicion.' MS. ib. p. 51.

[114] On 13th September, his dispatch stated, 'Now in effect there is

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While Wolsey remained at Calais, the imperial army under the count Nassau advanced against Mouzon on the Meuse, and their battering artillery frightening the new levies, it was speedily surrendered [115]. Animated by their success, they expected a repetition of such captures. Charles withdrew his minister from Calais [116], and laid siege to Mezieres; but the celebrated Bayard was there, and with him Anne de Montmorency, who firmly answered the summons, by telling Nassau, that if he quitted the place, it would be over the bridge of his enemies bodies [117]; but when it had held out a month, provisions began to fail, and disease to thin the defenders. It was supplied before the end of September, by a spirited exertion of the French king [118]; and in October, the imperialists raised the siege, and retreating with rapidity, to avoid a battle with the advancing forces of Francis [119], among which were eight thousand of the hired Swiss [120]. Another most discreditable instance of Wolsey's perfidious diplomacy here occurs, of which the infamy was entirely his own, because it was done against the king's more heroic advice.

Failing at Mezieres, the emperor projected to be-

no man that will keep me company; and if any do, I perceive they will take good heed what they speak afore me.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 96.

[115] M. Bellay, 120–2.

[116] On 11th September, our ambassador at Troys wrote, 'The French king told me, that the emperor had sent for his chancellor, for he had so great advantage of him, that now he would have no peace; and seeing the emperor had sent for his chancellor, he would send for his and was glad of it.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 93.

[117] M. Bell. 124.

[118] M. Bell. 129–134.

[119] M. Bell. 135–7.

[120] It is painful to read their commendatory description by the English ambassador, who wrote, on 4th October, 'I never in my life saw a band of goodlier men—*all young men*.—Not forty that be above thirty years of age.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 100.

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siege Tournay. Henry being apprised of this by his secretary, disapproved of it, and recommended Charles to dare the French to a battle [121]. But Wolsey perceiving that Francis was marching to bring the emperor to a decisive conflict, and fearing that it would terminate to the disadvantage of Charles, attempted insidiously, and in contradiction to his sovereign's manlier wishes, to arrest the progress of the French king, by a treacherous letter, praying him, in his sovereign's name, not to force on the battle [122]. Connecting the phrases of this official epistle with the preceding transactions, we may be justified in asserting that perfidy could not be more glaring. It was an attempt, probably suggested by Charles himself, to save him from disaster.

Francis did not suffer himself to be cheated by such debasing hypocrisy. On 20th October, he was half way between Cambray and Valenciennes, where he learnt that the emperor and his army had retreated. He resolved to throw a bridge over the Scheld below Bouchain, to combat his adversary or disgrace him by a flight. He went himself to reconnoitre, and saw a part environed with marshes, to which in the night he sent six thousand men over the river, to fortify

[121] It was on 15th October that Pace so answered Wolsey's letter of the 11th, and told him, that the king advised the emperor 'to chuse a meet ground, and there to abide the French king's coming, *and in nowise to refuse battle*, if the said king will fight, and to provoke him to the same.' MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 123.

[122] It is dated 20th October 1521. 'As there is great appearance of a conflict, and a battle being given between you, I write, the most cordially that I can, *on the part of the king my master*, and in the most humble manner possible, to exhort and require and desire your royal majesty to abstain from giving the said battle, and to condescend to a suitable abstinence of war for a season, that such a peace may be made as may redound to your honor and profit.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 116.

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themselves, make the bridge, and protect the passage of the rest of his forces [123].

The emperor hurried to the spot twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse, to prevent the passage. They came too late. They saw the king in full progress over the river, and his advance too strongly posted to be beaten. They were about to be attacked themselves, when a fog arose, which prevented Francis from ascertaining their number. The first division of his army only had crossed. Some of his bravest officers advised an immediate charge, at every hazard [124]; but others hesitating, lest they should be outnumbered, his judgment was paralysed by his caution, he missed a brilliant triumph, and his enemy escaped and got safe into Valenciennes. The advance of Francis so alarmed the emperor, that on the same night he quitted his army, and fled with precipitation into Flanders [125]. Taking Bouchain with one wing of his troops [126], and delighted with the honor of having driven the emperor out of his dominions, Francis was proceeding with the rest into action, and to relieve Tournay, which a part of the imperial forces was besieging [127], when his progress was ar-

[123] Bellay, 145-6.

[124] Bellay says, that Tremouille offered to charge with his own company, and so did the marshal de Chabanne. 'If it had been done, the emperor would on that day have there lost honneur et chevance.' p. 147.

[125] Bellay, who was there, adds, 'That day heaven had given our enemies into our hands, and we would not accept its gift, a thing which has since cost us dear; for he who refuses good fortune when heaven presents it, will find that it will not come to him when he desires it.' p. 148.

[126] Under the duke of Bourbon. Bellay, 148.

[127] Fitzwilliam, on 21st October, wrote to Wolsey, that he had asked Francis, 'if he would keep the field, seeing the weather is bad.' He said

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rested by a new English embassy, sent expressly from Calais, headed by the lord Chamberlain [128], to persuade or threaten him into a truce [129]. This reached him on 26th October, near Valenciennes, but found him not manageable to their unequitable purposes [130]; the articles which he had proposed, the emperor had refused [131], and he now resisted the truce; they renewed their efforts—he hesitated to comply; they persevered [132]—he refused the articles they proposed [133], but they continued in their negotiations [134], and if they did not bind his hands, they at least arrested his activity, and gained the time which to the emperor was so precious till the sickness of a wet

the emperor was recalled back, not to abide the battle, which was honor enough, but had left six thousand lance knights in the suburbs of Valenciennes, whom he would make to recule, or hew in pieces. He will after visit his country of Artois, and return home for this year.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 117.

[128] Bellay, 149. He says, they bargained that Charles should withdraw his army from Tournay and the Milanese. He may have mistook what Francis required for what he obtained.

[129] Bellay's French editors observe, p. 466, that Rymer has no record of such ambassadors, nor of such a treaty. True: but the Cotton library has. In that are the instructions to the earl of Worcester, the lord chamberlain, and others, for the negotiation, in Wolsey's handwriting, dated October 1521, and their letters to him upon it, in MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 121–130.

[130] Their first dispatch is dated 27th October. Admitted to the king's presence, 'we delivered the letters; we found him so difficile and untoward on every point, at every time he changed his mind. He said he would conclude a truce for two months to victual Tournay, and then for eighteen months. He would have an article that the emperor should not go to Italy during the truce.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 126.

[131] On 23d October, Wingfield and Spinelly wrote to Wolsey: 'The emperor said to us, that rather than accept any of the French king's conditions in the said truce, he is minded to put all in danger, and is persuaded you and the king will never counsel him to do it. MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 125.

[132] See their letters of 27th October, p. 130; and of 1st November, p. 160. MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 125.

[133] Dispatch from Amiens of 10th November. ib. p. 166.

[134] See their letters of 14th November, p. 170; and 18th November, p. 174.

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autumn, of whose probable effects Wolsey had been apprised, incapacitated his army from continuing the campaign[135]. Presuming too much on Tournay's ability to defend itself, he lost it on 30th November, by a surrender which he was compelled at last to recommend[136]. Wolsey having reduced the articles made at Bruges, into a corresponding treaty, in diplomatic form, on 24th November, at Calais[137], concluded his Machiavellian expedition, by returning to England. There the death of Leo X, on the 1st December, roused him to a chace of the game that he had so long been coveting, and put him into a new position of self interest, both with Charles and Francis, which has been already delineated.

9 Jan. 1522, Election of Adrian VI.

His failure to obtain the popedom on the demise of Leo X, and the election of the emperor's tutor Adrian VI. might have been foreseen by every one but himself. The crafty believe that they are invisible in their deceits, and admired for their dexterity. But Charles could only despise the dissembler he was stooping to cajole; and felt that he could not trust such a varying man in the papal chair. Dissimulation may gain its end before its character is perceived; but its detection precludes all future trust or good opinion; for who can separate its visible deceit from the belief or dread of an habitual and congenial

[135] Fitzwilliam had remarked to him, on 21st October, 'If the French king keep the field forty days longer, I assure your grace his army will be feebler, by ten thousand men, than it is; for their horses waste sore away from stabling without, and the men wax weary, and sick very fast.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 117.

[136] Bellay, 155.

[137] This treaty is in MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 200. It contains all the articles of Bruges, and the persecuting clause. Herbert gives the substance of it, p. 117–9.

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knavery? Wolsey continued in his fever of suspense till the last week of January, when the tidings reached him of his mortifying defeat[138]. CHAP. X.

This event revealing to him the insincerity or the instability of the friendship of Charles, or the insufficiency of his influence at Rome, lessened the cardinal's hostility to Francis; and as the joint support of the two sovereigns would be more beneficial on a future vacancy, he made some efforts to accommodate their hostilities. A new ambassador in sir Thomas Cheyney, was sent to assure Francis of Henry's "constant love" towards him[139], who had suggested, perhaps as much jocosely as seriously, or possibly with some satirical point, that the ladies regent of France and Flanders, his mother and the emperor's aunt[140], should meet and settle their differences, which state negotiators had but increased. This female diplomacy was not likely to be approved of by those whom it would have superseded.

Wolsey now discovered no further anxiety to give the emperor military support, but was liberal in official compliments[141]. The calumniating hint of

[138] On 15th Jan. 1522, Spinelly wrote to him from Ghent,—'No news come of the pope's election, but every hour it is looked for.' On 21st—'News of it still looked for. On 22d, his postcript announced that on the 9th January Adrian had been elected.

[139] See his dispatch to Wolsey, of 26th January 1522. MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 210.

[140] On 1st January 1522, Wingfield and Spinelly informed the cardinal, 'the French king offered, and was contented that the ladies regent should take the matter into their hands. The lady, his mother, might, for better color, come on pilgrimage to St. Josse, and in some place thereabout meet and commune with the lady archduchess on all manner of differences.' MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 207.

[141] These were entrusted to Wingfield to express, who, on 11th February 1522, thus describes his reception:—'This day, when we came to the court, the emperor was playing at the parvine, in a fair gallery, which is

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a diplomatic abbot, on the command of Europe, which Charles and Francis might obtain, if they were cordially united, and that England was therefore insidiously preventing it [142], shows that some perceived it to be Wolsey's policy to prevent them from combining with each other to the peril of Europe, and therefore to keep them in a state of separating discord. We cannot now penetrate his secret heart, but it is clear that his conduct produced both consequences, and that the English government was suspected of the latter. Yet the war in Italy of 1521, arose from a sacerdotal authority superior to his own [143]; from a pope respected for his love of letters, but most questionable in every quality that became his Christian character [144].

new made, and thither he sent for us. I did but salute him, and touched the king's recommendation briefly; for forthwith we were led to the other end of the said gallery, and there sat beholding the play till it was almost night, at which time his majesty resorted to his chamber.' They were then taken to the lady Margaret, and communicated their instructions to her. MS. Galba, B. 7. p. 4.

[142] It was the abbot of Vienne, ambassador from Lorraine, whose observations, as reported by Wingfield, on 3d March 1522, were:— 'Verily I have great marvel how it chanceth that the emperor and the French king cannot find their hearts to make a perfect peace between themselves, and *so obtain the authority and rule of all Christendom*; for as touching the king of England, it is not to be thought that any goodly peace may be procured between the said princes thro him. Wherefore, me seemeth, they might take much better and surer way for their wealth and surety, than to esteem that either of them shall or may obtain peace, honor, or profit at the king of England's hands.' MS. Galba, p. 7. p. 11.

[143] Guicciardini, on the authority of the cardinal de Medici, that became Clement VII. who, he says, knew all the pope's secrets, charges the war in Italy of 1521 on Leo X. L. 14. p.

[144] His character is concisely given by Perizonius, p. 111. 'Homo literarum amans; sed splendidus; sumptuosus; musicæ, scurris et voluptatibus deditus supra modum.' Paulus Venetus declares, that he labored under two of the greatest vices in a pope: 'ignorance of religion, and impiety or atheism,' which Seckendorff thinks is confirmed by the fact mentioned by Varillas, in his Arcana Hist. Flor. and by the silence of Pallavicenus, L. 1. p. 190, 1. Spalatinus remarks, that he expended one million four hundred thousand pieces of gold in his wars. 1 Jort. Eras. p. 261.

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The association of the papal and imperial forces gave them preponderance in Italy. Of the twenty thousand Swiss, who were with the French under Lautrec, sixteen thousand left him for want of pay, while the cardinal de Medici was leading others of their countrymen to the side of the imperialists[145]. The French were driven from Milan[146] at the end of November 1521. In the next spring, attempting to re-establish their ascendancy, they were beaten at Easter, in the battle of Becoque[147]; and the confederates became masters of the Milanese, and surprised Geneva. These disasters inclined the mind of Wolsey to favor for the time the triumphant emperor.

Charles now desired to make his alliance with England efficient in dismembering France itself, and therefore resolved to concert the necessary measures in a personal interview with Henry. In March he expressed his desire to visit England for that purpose[148]. Wolsey advised his sovereign to keep him from it till 26th April, by which time the pacific intentions of Francis might be ascertained[149]. The emperor agreed to wait[150], but afterwards went to Italy, and the menaces of the Turks induced him to postpone his voyage to the 12th May[151]. On the

[145] Bellay, p. 181.

[146] Bellay, 183–190. This officer ascribes the death of Leo. X. to the joy he felt at the disasters of the French. 'Il fût bien aise de mourir de joye.' p. 192.

[147] Bellay, 215–224.

[148] Wolsey's letters to Henry. MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 265.

[149] Ib. p. 266.

[150] On 31st March Charles wrote to Henry, that to gratify him, 'tho we had resolved to anticipate our passage, not to lose time,' he will defer it till the 26th April. ib. MS. p. 13.

[151] See the emperor's letter of 7th April 1522. MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 18.

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23d of that month he was seen off Plymouth[152], and landed afterwards, on the 26th, at Dover, where the cardinal had gone to meet him, while Henry stopped at Canterbury. Hearing of his arrival, the king rode to the port and welcomed him, showed him his new great ship, whose artillery he admired[153], and conducted him to Canterbury, and thence on 2d June to Greenwich. Justs and costly festivities amused them for four days, and they proceeded to London. The emperor then went with the king to Hampton Court, Windsor, and Winchester, every where entertained with splendid diversions and banquets like those already described; and after signing to Wolsey an engagement to give him a pension of nine thousand crowns of gold[154], on the 1st July sailed away from Southampton[155], having fully accomplished his object of prevailing on the English government to join cordially with him in an attack on France[156].

Whatever may have been Wolsey's expectations from the king of France, they had ended in such disappointment by the time that Charles reached Dover, that the English court was prepared to enter determinately into the war against Francis[157]. On the 29th May 1522, sir Thomas Cheyney had his

[152] John Herford's letter. MS. Gal. B. 7. p. 25.

[153] Hall, 635. It held 1,500 men, and was called the 'Henry, Grace à Dieu.' ib.

[154] See before, p. 238.

[155] Hall, 635–641, details a full account of these festivities, which it gratified his taste to describe, and to whom we refer the reader.

[156] Lord Herbert gives the articles of the treaty of Windsor, p. 126-8. of which the confirmation is in MS. Galb. B. 7. p. 357.

[157] His authority on 23d February 1522, to require Henry's aid against the emperor, in pursuance of the league of 2d October 1518, is in Rymer, 13. p. 765.

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last audience with this monarch, who supported the trying scene for royal temper and courtesy with a steady firmness and dignified civility. To the annunciation that Henry felt in his conscience, that he must rather declare against him than against the emperor, Francis answered, that he trusted the king would declare himself no other than as right required. To the deciding intimation, that the emperor on passing into Spain had urgently desired Henry "to be the protector and defender of all his Low Countries, which he intended not to refuse," the French king replied, that he had never given the English sovereign any cause why he should take part with his greatest enemy against him. But that, if there was no remedy, he trusted he should be able to defend both himself and his kingdom; altho, from this conduct, he would never again confide in any living prince[158]. Immediately after this interview, the English herald entered with his fecial declaration of national war[159]. On 8th June the earl of Surrey was constituted, by the emperor and Henry, their admiral, to make maritime aggressions on France[160]. Five days afterwards, he began the war fare by a devastation of Normandy, near Cherbourg[161], which he repeated about the end of the month, by sacking and burning Morlaix[162]. He then conveyed Charles safely to St. Andero on 16th July; and, upon his return, was invested with the com-

[158] Dispatch of Cheyney to Wolsey, MS. Galb. p. 225. Francis added, 'as he lost him once, he made a vow that he would never win him again as long as there was breath in his body.' ib.

[159] Hall, 636.

[160] See the commission, dated 8th June 1522, in Herbert, 129-131.

[161] Herb. 131.

[162] Hall, 642-3.

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mand of the army that advanced from Calais in co-operation with the imperial general the count de Buren[163]. The exploits of the victor in Flodden field, his own pen has described[164]. They amount to the burning of a few villages and castles, and the besieging of Hedin, "the weakest place on the frontiers[165]." Yet here Surrey was detained six weeks, till disease, from the heavy rains, compelled him to leave it untaken[166]. He lingered, to set fire to a few more inferior towns[167], and then, as food

[163] Herb. 132.

[164] His lordship's original letter to Wolsey, is in MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 221. 'We have thrown down and burnt the goodly castle—and divers other small holds: and I have in our hands a goodly castle, called Forfyn, which to-morrow shall likewise be thrown down and burnt. It is said to be a marvellous goodly house, and right strong. The town and villages of this country, which is Artois, do pay subsidy and rent to the emperor—wherefore my lady of Savoy has written to me in no wise to burn them. We have burnt also the towns and villages in the Bolonnoise.

'This day we will lay siege to Hedyn, and this night make our approach. The Frenchmen have abandoned the town, where reigneth pestilence marvellous sore. And the emperor's counsel here be content that the said town shall be burnt, which shall be done within these three days. The castle walls be of marvellous height, and in the most part above twenty feet thick.

'We have *had great scarcity* these two days. Pray God send us more plenty, or else, for lack, we shall leave undone many good exploits. I beseech your grace, let the money be sent in time to Calais.—Scribbled in haste, this morning of the 16th, in the camp at Blangy; where the French court was.' ib. MS.

[165] M. Bellay, 245.

[166] M. Bellay, 247.

[167] M. Bellay, 248.

It was in April 1521, that the duke of Buckingham, the son of the greatest friend and the greatest enemy of Richard III. was arrested, together with a priest, his chancellor, and another his confessor, and a Charter-house monk, on a charge of high treason, for which he was ultimately executed. The indictment charged him with an intention of usurping the crown, and with having compassed the king's death. Stowe's Annals, p. 512–4. In the Harl. MS. N° 283, is a summary of the evidence against him. It was deposed, that he had said, if any thing should come to the king other than well, he was next to the crown, and would be king; that if he might have had convenient time, he would have done as much against the king as he could have done—that he had been such a sinner, that he was sorry he lacked

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became scanty, the season more sickly, and his plans or his orders in discord with those of his allies, he returned to England after a short campaign of that useless pillage, cruelty and devastation, which rather remind us of a northman's ancient ravages, than of cultivated warfare.

grace—he should speed the matter when he should begin any thing against the king, and therefore he would tarry his time—that if he had been committed to the Tower when he was in displeasure for sir W. Bowness, there was a friend of his who had promised to rescue him with 10,000 men, within four days; and when the king's grace was last sick, that if it had happened well, he would have chopped off my lord cardinal's head, sir Thomas Lovell, and others.

It was deposed, That the monk sent the duke word to get the favor of the commons, and he should have the rule of all, and thereupon the duke sent his chaplain to the monk, to know his mind:—that the monk showed to the duke that he should be king; who answered, that he would be a right wise prince, if it came to pass. And that the monk showed to the duke at another time, that he should be king, and that he had such knowledge by revelation, and to that purpose he moved the duke to get the love of the commons.

His chancellor's confession charged him with expressing the most vituperative accusations against the king and cardinal;—with having done what he could to get the favor of the king's guard—that he thought himself sure of them, and had studied to make many particular offices in his land, to retain as many men by these offices as he could. It was also stated that he had bought cloth of gold and silks to the value of 300 *l.* or 400 *l.* and gave it to gentlemen to get their love, and for the same purpose had given a doublet of cloth of silver to Edward Nevyll. MS. p. 70–2. Other circumstances are mentioned by Stowe, The probable truth seems to be, that he was thinking of the crown, and at times meditating treason, and lent a too willing ear to those who were urging him to it. But the evidence does not present us with any clear act of committed treason, tho his mind was verging towards it, and seems to have been ready to have become a leader of any disaffected party that would make him its chief.

It was a part of the evidence, that he had mentioned his father's intentions to have stabbed Richard III. at Salisbury, if he had been admitted to the king's presence, and that he would have done a similar act, if he had perceived that he should have been committed to the Tower. Stowe, p. 512.

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In the British Museum is the original account of Wolsey's expences, on his journey in 1521, to Calais and Bruges, and during his residence on his mission, from which we will transcribe a part, to show what articles then constituted the daily food of our ancestors, and their prices. The sums are put in modern figures: the original has letters.

On Tuesday 30th July. His train breakfasted at Dartford. The bill for his officers was—

	£.	s.	d.
Bread	0	1	2
Beer	0	1	0
Beef	0	0	8
A quarters of mutton	0	1	0
Six chickens	0	1	0
A pye	0	0	6
Malmsey	0	0	4
	0	5	8

Their dinner the same day at Rochester, was—

An hogshead of ale	0	7	6
2 Fat capons	0	4	0
A pheasant	0	2	0
16 Quailes	0	5	4
16 Rabbits	0	4	0
A peck of filberts	0	0	4
Butter	0	0	3
	0	23	5

Supper the same day at Sittingbourne:

Bread	0	9	8
Hogshead of ale	0	7	6
2 Kilderkins of beer	0	6	0
18 and a pot of wine	0	12	0
3 Muttons	0	10	0
A breast and a neck of veal	0	0	6
4 Fat capons	0	8	0
4 Dozen chickens	0	8	0
2 Dozen pigeons	0	2	6
16 Rabbits	0	4	0
A pheasant	0	2	0
16 Quailes	0	5	4
Cream	0	2	6

	£.	s.	d.
Milk	0	2	4
Butter	0	2	8
Eggs	0	6	2
A barrel of flour	0	2	0
Herbs	0	0	3
Mustard	0	0	2
Oatmeal	0	0	1
Vinegar	0	0	2
Verjuice	0	0	1
Salt	0	0	2
Wood and coals for my lord's lodging	0	2	4
Ditto for kitchen and pastry	0	5	0
Herbs and for my lord's lodging	0	3	8
2 Dozen lbs. of candle	0	3	9
Flour for bakehouse	0	2	8
Rewards to the wife	0	26	8
	£. 6	16	4

Wednesday, 31 July. Breakfast at Sittingbourne:

Bread	0	1	8
Half a mutton	0	1	8
6 Chickens	0	1	0
A pig	0	0	7
4 Gallons of beer	0	0	8
Malmsey	0	0	8
Butter	0	0	2
Eggs	0	0	2
	0	6	7

Supper same day at Dover:

Bread	0	7	0
Ale, an hogshead	0	7	6
3 Muttons	0	11	0
3 Fat capons	0	5	0
3 other capons	0	3	0

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	£.	s.	d.
2 Dozen chickens	0	4	0
3 Dozen pigeons	0	2	0
12 Quailes	0	4	0
2 Herons	0	3	4
16 Rabbits	0	5	4
A lamb	0	1	8
Butter	0	2	0
Eggs	0	1	4
Salt and sauce	0	0	8
A peck of filberts	0	1	0
100 Pears	0	1	0
Flour for the pastry	0	1	8
Wood and coal	0	4	0
4½ Dozen lbs. candles, at 18 pence the dozen	0	6	9
For washing of four dozen of the glory	0	2	0
	0	74	3

Thursday, 1st August. Dinner and supper at Dover:

Bread	0	14	2
Ale, an hogshead	0	7	6
2 Barrels of beer	0	6	8
Hogshead of wine	0	26	8
Beef	0	13	4
4 Muttons	0	13	4
2 Veals	0	8	0
4 Fat capons	0	8	0
6 others	0	7	0
30 Rabbits	0	7	6
4 Heronsewys	0	6	8
3 Dozen chickens	0	6	0
4 Dozen pigeons	0	2	8
2 Dozen quailes	0	8	0
2 Pheasants	0	4	8
200 Eggs	0	3	0
Butter	0	3	9
A barrel of flour	0	2	0
Herbs	0	0	4
Wood and coals	0	12	0
2½ Dozen candles	0	3	9
4 Pounds of sugar	0	2	0
In reward to the bailiff's wife	0	20	0
Salt and sauce	0	1	0
200 Pears	0	2	0
A peck of filberts	0	1	0
	9	10	6

Thursday 1st August:

	£.	s.	d.
One breast, one neck of veal	0	0	10
Half a mutton	0	0	16
2 Dozen conies	0	6	0
6 Chickens	0	0	12
2 Dozen swans	0	68	0
6 Storkes	0	13	4
2 Dozen 7 heron sews	0	36	7
8 Bitterns	0	8	8
12 Dozen breves	0	62	0
36 Dozen quailes	6	13	11
9 Pecks of hemp seed	0	3	0
1,000 Eggs	0	12	4
2 Dozen capons	0	24	0

Friday, 2d August:

12 Cods	0	6	8
100 Plaice	0	9	4
3 Pike	0	3	6
4 Mullet	0	4	4
2 Basys	0	0	22
2 Haddocks	0	0	6
2 Gallons milk	0	0	4
2 Gallons cream	0	0	16
Herbs	0	0	2
3 Dozen 4 dishes butter	0	4	4
46 Couple of soles	0	7	8
100 Pears	0	0	9
Filberts	0	0	11
1 Firkin sturgeon	0	46	8
Flowers	0	0	8
64 Whitings	0	4	0
	4	13	0

Monday, 11th August. Breakfast at Calais:

4 Conies	0	0	12
12 Dozen chickens	0	0	9
Butter	0	0	2
A capon	0	0	12
A quarter of mutton	0	0	8
Herbs	0	0	2
A breast of veal	0	0	4
A goose	0	0	7
	0	4	8

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	£.	s.	d.
Saturday, 31st August:			
10 Congers - - -	0	12	0
4 Mulletts - - -	0	4	8
104 Plaice - - -	0	8	4
41 Cod - - -	0	4	1
10 Haddocks - -	0	0	20
140 Soles - - -	0	12	11
2 Carps - - -	0	4	4
4 Eels - - -	0	4	11
22 Peckerell - -	0	7	0
2 Tench - - -	0	0	6
500 Pears - - -	0	0	20
400 Walnuts - -	0	0	8
6 Gallons cream - -	0	3	6
8 Ditto milk - -	0	0	16
12 Thornbacks - -	0	0	16
8 Barrels hempseed -	0	12	0
1 Ditto barley - -	0	0	7½
100 Herrings - -	0	0	6½
1 Peck of damsons -	0	0	4

	£.	s.	d.
Wednesday the 27th August. Dinner and supper at Dunkirk:			
Bread - - -	0	18	4
Ale, an hogshead - -	0	7	6
Wine, 28 quarts - -	0	28	0
2 Barrels beer - -	0	10	0
A beef - - -	0	21	0
2 Veals - - -	0	9	0
5 Muttons - - -	0	14	10
38 - - -	0	12	8
39 Chickens - -	0	6	4
3 Pigs - - -	0	3	0
18 Partridges - -	0	12	0
9 Capons - - -	0	12	0
6 Dozen pigeons - -	0	6	0
A pot of cream - -	0	0	8
300 Eggs - - -	0	3	0
2 Pullets - - -	0	0	6
4 lb. of lard - -	0	0	6
7 lb. of suet - -	0	0	8
Butter - - -	0	4	8
Walnuts - - -	0	0	4

	£.	s.	d.
Grapes, herbs, onions, salt and sauce - -	0	2	0
4 Plaice - - -	0	0	4
Wood and coal - -	0	14	0
2 Dozen quailes - -	0	6	0
Reward - - -	0	26	8
Candles - - -	0	0	18
	11	1	6
400 Oysters - -	0	0	6
100 Pilchards - -	0	0	6
9 Pigs - - -	0	4	0

The following articles are selected to show their prices:

21st September.			
41 Mackerel - -	0	0	11
3 Turbots - - -	0	3	0
13 Whitings - -	0	0	2
23d Sept.			
3 Cabbage - - -	0	0	2
26th			
6 Larks - - -	0	0	19
27th.			
3 Turbots - - -	0	2	0
2 Crabs - - -	0	0	4
29th.			
9 Geese - - -	0	5	4
18 Woodcocks - -	0	7	0
6 Partridges - -	0	2	4
3 Gallons curd - -	0	0	6

Wednesday 27th November. Supper at Dover, at the Abbey.

29th, Dinner at Canterbury.

30th, - - Sittingbourne.

1st December, ib.

The last total of all the expences estimated in the books, is £. 2,346. 13 s. 6 d.

Harl. MS. No. 920.

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CHAP. XI.

THE REBELLION OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON—HIS CONSPIRACY WITH ENGLAND AND THE EMPEROR—THE CO-OPERATING INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ENGLISH ARMY IN 1523.

CHAP. XI.

THE campaign of 1522 had effected so little, that the imperial cabinet became anxious to make the next more formidable. One of the plans for this purpose appears in a letter from the emperor's ambassador at Venice to his minister in London. It is there suggested, that three armies should invade France from as many quarters at the same time. One from the Ligurian coast thro Nice, might descend into Provence, while another issued out of Spain, and Henry debarked into Picardy. These three bodies could simultaneously march to a central point of union in France, "with the highest hope, of a total and universal victory[1]." Such are the flattering delusions of paper campaigns. These easy speculators forget commissariats, weather, fortifications, passes, points of defence, patriotic feelings, a vigilant enemy, perpetual resistance, and a country made bare in the line of march. But Francis adopted a plan that paralysed the arm of the English government. He called in to popular observation and activity in the beginning of the year, a pre-

[1] Original letter of Hieronymus Adiernus to the bishop of Badajoz. MS. Nero, B. 7. p. 38.

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tender to the throne, in the person of the White Rose, as De la Pole, the descendant of the house of York, was entitled; and threatened Henry with an invasion, supported by a large body of his forces[2], which former experience had shown to be always formidable, and sometimes successful. The movements of this dangerous adversary were carefully watched[3], and many plans laid for his apprehension.

But a peril of an analogous nature was now opening against Francis. In his pursuit of the emperor in October 1521, he gave the command of his vanguard to his sister's husband, the duc de Alençon, instead of the duc de Bourbon, his ablest general, who claimed it as the constable of France[4]. Bourbon brooded over the preference with silent discontent; but the lady regent claiming the estates of his deceased wife, and also discouraging his desire to have her in marriage[5], his resentment began to me-

[2] On 12th January 1520, Wingfield conveyed this important information to Wolsey. 'I am informed that the king hath promised that, at this candlemas, he will furnish the White Rose of 12,000 footmen, paid at his charge; and I am well informed that the said duke of Suffolk holdeth himself fully assured of the same. Their purpose is to have 8,000 Almayns, which shall pass by the frontier, and 4,000 of the lower country.' MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 3.

[3] Dr. Knight, the new ambassador in Flanders, on 13th April 1523, acquainted the cardinal that they had 'taken upon the frontiers of Valenciennes an Englishman, being espye for Richard de la Pole, which espye purposed toward England.' He was tortured to a confession, which was sent. MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 28.

[4] Bellay, p. 143.

[5] On the duke's wife's death, Louisa, the mother of Francis, claimed that lady's lands, as a nearer heir by three descents than Bourbon. The question was brought before the parliament of Paris; and the duke believing their decision would be against him, and dreading the comparative poverty to which the abstraction of these estates would reduce him, turned his mind to his vindictive revolt; 'aimant mieux abandonner sa patrie que d'y vivre en necessité.' Bellay, p. 263. Brantome mentions, that *he* disdained her, and spoke so unfavorably of her as to kindle her resentment. Disc. 20. 244. Both statements have their authorities.

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ditate revenge and revolt, as only by revolt he could take the vengeance he coveted. His angry feelings were observed by the English ambassador at Paris, and communicated to Wolsey[6]. That such a new stimulus to protracted warfare should occur at this juncture, was the more unfortunate for Francis, because the emperor was beginning then to feel the necessity of a peace or truce; and by his own letter[7], and thro his agent, was conveying his wishes to the English court[8]. The pope also was professing the same tranquillizing desire[9]. The momentous consequences to Henry, to Europe, and to mankind, which ultimately followed from what the duke of Bourbon from this time planned, directed or achieved, make the history of his defection an important part of the history of England, altho from not being studied in the official documents that exist, its impressive connexion with our annals has hitherto been little noticed, and some of its most interesting incidents entirely unknown.

It was in the beginning of 1523, that he allowed the passions of his pride to agitate him into determined treason; and he sent a secret agent to the emperor, to intimate his complaints against the

[6] Wingfield, on 10th April, was alert to send these facts to Wolsey: 'as touching the duke of Bourbon, he was late with the French king, and departed thence right evil pleased; for there is a great plea between the lady regent and him for his widow's land; and as for the marriage between him and the lady regent, it is nothing so.' Letter, MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 26.

[7] His letter to Wolsey, representing the necessity to him of a peace or truce, is dated 15th April, and is all in his hand-writing. MS. Gal. B. 8. p. 32.

[8] Dr. Knight, on 18th of April, imparted from him to the cardinal, that Charles was 'very desirous of the peace.' MS. ib. p. 34.

[9] The lady Margaret, in letter of 18th April, expressed this herself to Wolsey, whom she calls, 'mon fils.' MS. ib. p. 30.

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French king; his desire even to unite with the enemies of his country, that he might gratify his wrathful feelings against the sovereign he now hated; and offering to bind himself to join them with five hundred men at arms and ten thousand foot[10]. He desired that both Henry and Charles should invade France, and that the emperor should give him one of his sisters in marriage for his reward, with a convenient dower[11]. He endeavored to cover the deformity of the transaction by a veil of patriotism, which was continued in the phrases of those who hoped to benefit from his crime[12], that both parties might keep its immorality out of sight[13].

The French king, as if surmising some of the impending consequences, inclined to prevent them by

[10] The earliest intimation which I have found of the duke's communications with Charles is in the extracts from the letters of sir Thomas Boleyn in Harl. MS. N° 295, dated from Spain, 14th January and 6th February. He mentions his conferences with the grand master of the emperor on the affair, who wished it to be deferred till Lady-day. p. 140.

[11] The king's instructions to Dr. Knight, which by their style seem to have been penned by Wolsey, in May 1523, of which a copy exists in MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 58–66, state these facts, and ascribes the first overture to the duke. 'Certain practices have been by him set forth a good season past, and had lately renewed, by sending a special and secret man unto the emperor to declare and shew to him, &c. Ib. p. 58.' 'The grand master told Boleyn, that as touching the marriage of his sister to the duke, because it concerned his own affairs so much, he would in that behalf use good deliberation.' Harl. MS. 295. p. 140.

[12] Hence the king's preface: 'The ambassador shall understand that the duke of Bourbon, by the misorder, evil governance and wild demeanor of the French king, hath applied his mind for the relief of the commons, to redress these enormities.' MS. ib.

[13] Therefore he is called in these instructions and other papers, 'The *virtuous* duke of Bourbon,' ib. So this state paper intimates that he was acting 'for the common weal of the realm of France, and for the reformation of the enormities and abuses used by the French king, upon what ground it is thought he may, with his honor, proceed hereunto.' MS. ib. p. 62.

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conciliating the duke; and one project mentioned for that purpose was, to give his young sister-in-law, Renée, in marriage to Bourbon[14]. No effectual step was taken on these ideas; and at the end of February, or the beginning of March 1523, the duke of Bourbon was for the last time at the court of Francis, and parted from him with a mind still more affronted than before by his peremptory observations[15]. He left Paris for his country seat, and on the 12th of May opened a direct communication with England, by sending to Wolsey on that day, his counsellor and chamberlain, to explain what he was meditating and intended to perform[16].

[14] Sir Thomas wrote that 'the emperor had word out of France that the French king was minded to make such appointment with the duke of Bourbon as that all process should cease till the wars be done; or till that he should have in marriage Mad. Renée, the French queen's sister; and so the duke to be clear and all manner of actions remitted with the same marriage.' Harl. MS. N° 295. p. 141.

[15] On 8th March 1523, Boleyn transmitted to Wolsey the following account, so interesting from the ulterior results, as he had it from Charles.

'The emperor shewed us that the duke came to Paris, and coming to the court at the time of dinner, the queen (Claude) commanded him to sit at her board, for the king and she dined apart that day. The king hearing of his being there, the more shortly ended his dinner, and came to the queen's chamber. The duke seeing the king, was rising to do his duty. The king commanded him to sit, and not to rise from his dinner, and then saluted him with these words: 'Seigneur! It is shewed us that you be or shall be married. Is it truth?' The duke said, it was not so. The king said that he knew it was so; moreover saying, that he would remember it; and that he knew his traffic with the emperor: eftsoons repeating that he would remember it. The duke answered and said, 'Sir! then you menace and threaten me. I have deserved no such cause;' and so departed. After dinner the duke went to his lodging, *and all the noblemen of the court* with him. The next day he departed from the court to the country. He (Boleyn) said, if the king spoke so much, it was marvail that he suffered the duke to depart. The emperor said, that he durst not otherwise do, all the great personages so favored him.' Harl. MS. N° 295. p. 134.

[16] His orignal letter of this date, from Annecy, is in the British Museum. 'Monsieur le Legat! J'envoye le Sieur de Chasteaufort mon conseil et chambellan de par dela pour les raisons que je lui ai charge vous dire. Je vous prie le croire pour cette fois comme moi-meme; et par lui, me mander si choses voullez que je puisse et je les ferai de tres bon cœur.—Votre bon cousin. Charles.' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 184.

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The intimation to Henry of the duke's projected rebellion, roused the king and his cabinet to the hope and resolution of converting it to the same end which Henry V. had pursued on his confederation with the duke of Burgundy; the transfer of the crown of France to the English sovereign. So early and so hastily was this scheme formed in the councils at Westminster, that in the middle of May, a commission was issued to our ambassadors in Spain, to make a treaty with Bourbon, that he should acknowledge Henry for the true king of France, faithfully serve and obey him as such, and therefore take the oath of homage and fealty to him in that capacity, as his superior lord[17].

Twelve days afterwards, the emperor sent the lord de Beaurain with instructions to treat more specially with the duke and with Henry. He was ordered to do nothing, unless the king of England would contribute to maintain Bourbon's proposed army, and to support him against all adversaries; to bind the duke to join their invading army in its hostilities, within ten days after it should enter France; to promise him, after his public declaration, two hundred thousand crowns of gold for his assistance; and to concert the marriage between him and the queen dowager of Portugal, or if she would not consent to it, with the emperor's sister, lady Catherine[18].

[17] These are the words of the Latin commission to Dr. Sampson and sir Richard Jerningham, dated 16th May 1523, in MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 125. Two other commissions, dated the following day, were also sent to concert with him as to the invasion of France. ib. p. 127, 8. A fourth commission is added in the MS. with the remark at top, in a handwriting like that of secretary Pace, that this was never sealed or sent. ib. 129.

[18] A copy of these instructions, dated Valladolid, 28th May 1523, are in MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 138.

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Beaurain came to England at the end of June, and having settled with its government the plan of invasive co-operation, departed in July to France, to have a secret interview with the duke on 31st July at Bourg en Bresse[19], which lies between the Saone and Geneva. Henry in the same month, sent a copious detail of instructions to Dr. Knight, the English ambassador at Brussels, to repair by the same time to the same place, in disguise[20], but separately, and on the king's behalf, to join the meeting with Bourbon. He was ordered to make full inquiries as to the state of the duke's mind; his influence in France; the condition of its fortresses in Normandy, Guyenne, or elsewhere; to ascertain whether any great or notable effect was likely to follow to Henry's benefit, and to disclose the plan of giving to the English sovereign the crown of France[21].

To require the ambassador at a court so frequented as that of Flanders, whose face must have been so familiar to many, to go upon a treasonable mission into an adjoining country, with a paper of minute instructions of sixteen folio pages, which, if taken upon him, would have subjected him to have been hanged as a spy, seems rather an arbitrary

[19] MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 58. 'Where, by the last day of this instant month, the duke hath promised secretly to meet him, and such other as the king shall appoint.' ib. Wolsey, in his letter of 3d July, printed by M. Galt, in his Appendix, p. 351, from Vesp. C. 2, mentions Beaurain as then in England, and as having to meet Bourbon by the latter end of that month.

[20] 'By port and in habit dissimuled.' Vesp. p. 60.

[21] 'It is thought by the king's grace and his council, that a more honorable ground and occasion cannot be taken by the said duke, than to recognise the king's grace his superior and sovereign lord, making oath and fidelity unto him as to the rightful inheritor of the crown of France.' MS. ib. p. 62.

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command of Wolsey's reckless will, than a judicious designation. But the obvious impolicy and certain peril did not escape Dr. Knight, and it is therefore not surprising to find that, "for the danger of the way," he did not go to the meeting between Bourbon and Beaurain[22]. The consequence was, that these personages settled their articles, "as well concerning the duke's marriage, as for war offensive and defensive to be made against the French king," altho the English envoy "could not be, nor was present at the same, whereof the king is right sorry[23]." Beaurain sent his secretary Chateau to Henry, with a copy of this convention; and sir John Russell was in the beginning of August then selected and commissioned to go in disguise to Bourbon, and to conclude a separate treaty for England with him. He was first to announce his authority, and to hear and note the duke's answer, and then to deliver to him the articles signed by the king's hand, requiring him to accept Henry as his natural and sovereign liege lord; "to receive back from him a semblable book subscribed by him, and to take his oath for observance thereof." If he objected to this recognition, he was to be strongly urged to it. He was to be advised with, whether from the want of cavalry at such a short notice, Picardy would not be a better part for an invasion of the English forces than Normandy, and to assure him that they should be at Calais on the last day of that month, which, tho not expressed, we may infer to have been the ensuing August[24].

[22] Instructions to sir John Russell. MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 66.
[23] Ib. [24] MS. ib. 67, 68.

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CHAP. XI.

It was a difficult point to bring the new advantages which both the emperor and Henry hoped to derive from the rebellion of this important prince, to a satisfactory coincidence. Sir Richard Jerningham therefore left the Spanish court in May, to confer with his own cabinet on the subject. Fully instructed by Henry and the cardinal, he sailed back again from Southampton; and in eleven days, on the 18th of June, rejoined Dr. Sampson at Valladolid. They stated their sovereign's terms with Bourbon; and the imperial ministry answered, that the emperor was content to accept the intended expedition according to their demands and articles[25].

Russell went and executed, without being discovered, his hazardous commisson with Bourbon, who acceded to his prescribed conditions; and the month of August became an æra of secret conventions and military plans, that were to throw France and its king at the feet of Henry and Charles. As Russell's com-

[25] Letter of Sampson and Jerningham to Henry, dated 3d July 1523. MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 143, 144. It was at this period that Ludovicus Vives, from Bruges, 8th July, expressed the common feelings of the literary part of the intellectual world at that time, in thus urging the king's confessor, John bishop of Lincoln, the uncle of Pace, to assist in conciliating the warring parties. 'I hear that some pacific embassies have been sent backwards and forwards between the princes. What answers they bear I know not; but the French wish for nothing more than for peace. You are averse from war. Cæsar desires tranquillity and the rumor is, that nothing opposes peace, but that neither will firs; ask for it. What more arrogant than this could come even from Satan't school? For what is 'Let us make peace,' otherwise than sayings 'Let us repress slaughter! let us end robberies! let us establish concord! Let us bring back to the human race, commerce, religion, literature, education, tranquillity, security and joy, and give a new and cheerful aspect to the world itself. Let us expel sorrow from it; let the good live, flourish, and be happy! Nature has been most provident to us; for, in order that man may not hurt man, she has given us bodies without implements for destruction. Yet we, forgetting nature and forgetting God, rush into mutual destruction; talking as if the sons of our Creator, but acting as his enemies.' Epist. 1.

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mission was sealed on the 2d August[26], we may presume him to have reached the duke as soon as possible afterwards; and on the 16th of this month, another imperial envoy reached privily Bourg en Bresse, to make the final arrangement for the duke's public insurrection. Too many soldiers were moving about in those parts for Bourbon to venture on a personal interview at that time; but his confidential agent Luce, became the medium of their mutual communications.

He stated that Francis had recently assumed such a friendlier manner to the duke, as to excite an apprehension, that he suspected what was projecting. The admiral who commanded his army, had just visited Bourbon from him, with handsome offers if he would accompany him over the Alps; or at least, if in his absence he would assist the lady regent in the protection of the kingdom. The duke, to evade compliance, had affected sickness, and was carried in a litter, as if disabled, to Moulins. In five days, the king of France was to be at Lyons, with two thousand men at arms and twenty-six thousand foot, on his way to Italy. He was only pausing to receive the answers of the Swiss and the Venetians, to the proposals he had made them. Luce added, that he had three companies of cavalry with him, that would do him no good, for they were in secret intelligence with his disaffected master[27].

The plan of the interior conspiracy and of an in-

[26] This commission is in MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 197.

[27] The letter of Du Chattel to Du Praet, the emperor's ambassador in England, dated Bourg en Bresse, 19th Aug. 1523, states these facts. MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 165.

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vasion from England, had been arranged between the duke and sir John Russell[28], while Dr. Knight was dispatched to Basle, to concert with the archduke, a simultaneous German attack[29]. It was settled, that the English army should be in France by the 25th August[30]; and that by the same day the count Felix should have marched ten thousand lance knights to penetrate into Burgundy and join the duke[31], who was to make the insurrectionary movement of himself and his friends, correspondently with these invasions[32]. The English government was to send one hundred thousand crowns for procuring these German forces; and the emperor on his part, was to enter the south-western part of France, with an army from Spain[33]. A body of four thousand horse and as many infantry, were also to advance out of Flanders, and combine with the English army[34]. Thus France was to be invaded from four quarters, by forces which she had no local means of resisting; while a popular prince was, with as much of the gentry and

[28] Dr. Knight's letter to Wolsey, from Brussels, of 20th August 1523. MS. Galb. B. 1. p. 46.

[29] His orders were to be there in six days from Brussels, to which he returned on 16th August. MS. ib.

[30] The regent duchess of Flanders thought that this could not conveniently be, because of the briefness of the time, and therefore 'that the duke's purpose was very dangerous for him, if he being required by Mr. Russell to declare himself immediately under hope of it.' Whereunto I answered, 'that there was no doubt but the king and your grace would assuredly perform as much as was contained in the instructions given to them and Russell.' MS. ib. p. 46.

[31] Knight's letter of 26th August. MS. ib. p. 50.

[32] MS. ib. p. 46.

[33] Wolsey's letter of 31st of July, printed in Fid. App. p. 136. By his dispatch on 6th November, it appears that the emperor was to contribute a similar sum towards their maintenance and pay. ib. p. 131.

[34] Wolsey, ib. p. 136.

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people as were discontented with their government or partial to him, to burst into a co-operating rebellion in the heart of the country. These confederated masses of hostility were provided, without the knowlege of the French cabinet that such revolutionary aggressions were preparing; and all this eruptive warfare was to rush into sudden, unexpected, and concurrent action, while the disposable military force of France was, with its king at its head, descending the Alps of Savoy, in a confident dream of adding Italy to his crown. Few schemes of war have been so ably framed, as the plan of this vindictivcampaign was formed by Bourbon; and no one ever presented greater probabilities of its deciding completion. None of the foreign auxiliaries failed in their compact. Count Felix passed the Rhine with his ten thousand lance knights, and entered the province of Ferebre, near Franche Compte, before the appointed day[35]. The duke of Suffolk, with part of the English forces, arrived at Calais on the 23d August, and the rest were expeditiously following him[36]. Count Buren advanced the stipulated army from Flanders to St. Omer's, ready "to do any exploit immediately after determination taken with Suffolk[37];" and the emperor sent his covenanted army from the Pyrennees into Guienne[38]. What was it at this perilous conjuncture, which saved the French monarchy from being linked, as to its main body, with the crown of England; and from being dismembered in its extre-

[35] Knight's letter 26th Aug. MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 50.
[36] Wolsey, p. 136.
[37] Knight's letter of 4th September. MS. Galb. p. 52.
[38] Wolsey, p. 136.

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mities, to satisfy the emperor; with a new interior feudal principality, to gratify the revolting Bourbon? Francis discerned not the advancing storm; and his troops were advancing to the foot of the Savoy mountains, while the masses of hostile invasion were traversing the frontiers of their country, which they were leaving. Their sovereign so little dreamt of the domestic mines that were forming to uproot his own dynasty, that he was at that time making great naval preparations to send the duke of Albany to Scotland, to dethrone Henry, by marching with the pretender Pole into England [39]. An attempt, which ended not only in the defeat of his own fleet, and the alarm and plunder of his own coasts [40]; but also in

[39] Wolsey, p. 137. 'The king hath put in readiness in the north parts a great number, which under the leading of the earl of Surry, may at all times either invade, or defend us, as shall be commanded.' ib. His subsequent letter states Surry's army as consisting of 50,000 soldiers and 3,000 lords and gentlemen. p. 133.

It is to such plans that our old Skelton alluded in his verses at this period on this duke.

'Wene ye, daw-cocks! to drive
Our king out of his reme?
Go home, rank Scot! go heme!
With fond Francis, French king.
Our master shall you bring,
I trust, to low estate,
And mate you with check-mate.
Your brains are idle—
For it is impossible
For you to bring about
Our king for to drive out
Of this his realme royal
And land imperial:
So noble a prince as he
In all activity.
Of hardy marshal acts:
Fortunate in all his facts.
Chalmers' Poets, 275.

[40] 'Sir William (Fitzwilliam) is and hath been upon the seas, with thirty-six great ships, who, tho the weather hath been to him somewhat stormy and contrarious, hath not only given chase to twelve ships of France, sent to convey the archbishop of Glasgow, and other ambassadors from the duke of Albany into Scotland; enforced them into the harbours of Dieppe and Boulogne, in either of which two perished at

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bringing on Scotland, a merciless devastation, which even its perpetrators confessed, had exceeded any which that country had suffered for two centuries [41]; and which is described in terms that make us shudder to think, that any human beings could, from any motives, or under any command, or from any previous examples, with the stern cruelty of malignant evil beings, inflict such miseries on their sentient fellow creatures [42]. Francis suffered from naval attacks till Albany abandoned his enterprise as a hopeless impracticability.

But the downfal of dynasties and nations is not accomplished by the uncommanding power of human speculations. It is interesting to trace the incidents by which such an elaborate and well-combined plan of invasive and insurrectionary warfare was, without any such intentions in the counteracting agents, and as if secretly and calmly directed by some superior superintendence, effectually and gradually and quietly defeated [43]. The first check that we can perceive, was

entering, but also keeps them there, and proceeded also by the coasts, taking ships and landing in divers places, where he hath burned and done much hurt.' Wolsey, p. 133.

[41] 'The great garrisons laid also all the summer on the borders towards Scotland—have done the greatest destructions in Scotland that hath been seen this 200 years.' Wolsey's letter, 6th Nov. p. 133.

[42] 'If the said duke should arrive, the earl of Surry is in perfect readiness to meet him, and hath, with the rodes before the departure of sir R. Jerningham, and since, so devastated and destroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn or other succor for man, insomuch that some of the people that fled from the same, afterwards returning and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come into England begging bread, which oftentimes when they eat, they die incontinently, for the hunger passed: and by no imprisonment, cutting off their ears, burning them in the face, or otherwise, can be kept away.' Wolsey's letter, 31st Aug. p. 138. I will not add his next hypocritical sentence, as it is outrage enough on common moral decency, that one of the highest order in the catholic church could sanction, order and exultingly describe atrocities, which no decorous epithet can sufficiently characterise.

[43] Wolsey furnishes us with a specimen of these. 'Sir William landed

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unknowingly given by Francis, when hastening to Lyons, in his way to the Alps, he stopped awhile to receive from Venice and Switzerland, their reply to his message[44]. This kept him a few days longer than either he or the conspirators expected, near the Bourbonnois, at the very crisis that was fixed for raising the rebellious standard. As insanity only could have erected this, in the face of thirty thousand men, marching in the vicinity, towards Lyons, it was indispensible that Bourbon should postpone his insurrection; and therefore he sent necessarily, but too late to retard the advancing confederates, his letters to the Brussels regency to defer his rising for eight or ten days[45]. The German lance knights were immediately ordered to fall back upon the Rhine[46]; and although the English reached Calais, it was only to wait inactively the issue of what might occur. But these movements were sufficient to alarm the French cabinet into a suspicion, that something unusual was in progress; and its vigilance could have hardly failed to perceive that some ideas were brooding, which were connected with the duke of Bourbon. Whether this increased the French king's suspicion, or whether a page or a secretary betrayed any correspondence to him[47], or two Norman gen-

at Treport with 15,000 men; as he could not take the fortified town, he burnt above 300 houses in the fauxbourgs; destroyed the bulwarks, brought away the ordnance, and set in flames twelve ships of war, and twelve other ships, and slew 600 men, with the loss of only twelve English. He then went to Finhead, where Albany lay with an equal fleet, and by a messenger offered him battle, but finding he would not come out, returned to the Downs for victuals, and to lodge themselves in the narrow seas, there to lie in wait for the said duke.' Letter 31st Aug. p. 138.

[44] See before, p. 310.

[45] Dr. Knight's letter of 20th August. MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 50, states this fact.

[46] Ib.

[47] Jerningham expresses this surmise in his letter of 2d October, to Surry, from Corunna. MS. Vesp. C. 2. p. 199.

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tlemen communicated enough to implicate the duke personally in some unknown but forming conspiracy [48], we have not materials now to decide. But Francis became excited to have a personal interview with him, that would either dissuade him from his enmity, or gain some insight into his meditated designs. He waited only till Pole, the English pretender reached him with the lansquenets from Picardy, who seem to have been waiting there for the Scottish expedition; and having thus provided for his immediate safety, the king entered Moulins, under the guardianship of his German mercenaries, in the beginning of September; and being informed that Bourbon was indisposed, went immediately to visit him, and to recall him from the practices he had been accused of pursuing [49].

He stated at once his information, that the seigneur de Reux was alluring him into the emperor's service; intreated him not to be misled; promised to restore to him the contested estate, if the legal court should decide against him; and desired him to join the forces that were proceeding to Italy. Bourbon confessed the invitations he had received, but with dissimulating falsehood, asserted, that he had never listened to them; and promised to attend the king as soon as his physicians would give him leave. Francis was advised to arrest him, but his good nature inclined him to believe, that such a prince as Bourbon could not be guilty of the infamy that was imputed to him; and leaving a nobleman, Uvarty, to accompany Bourbon to his army, set off for Lyons, to lead it into Italy [50]. Henry heard of the visit, and

[48] Bellay's statement. v. 17. p. 264. [49] Bellay, 265.
[50] M. Bellay, 265–7. He justly calls Francis, 'Le gentil prince, que

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became alarmed for the duke's safety; but had not the nobleness of soul to advise him not to betray or desert so generous a master; nor to venerate, or afterwards to imitate a king, that disdained to become cruel from his anger or his fears[51].

It is pleasing to believe, that a great mind cannot become criminal, without hesitations and regrets, that vindicate the natural beauties of human nature, even while it is falling. The postponement of his revolt, which made Margaret and Henry think him tardy to his own danger, proceeded from this principle[52]. He was affected by his sovereign's condescending generosity; but fettered and endangered by his foreign engagements, his judgment was confused by his internal conflicts. Some true friends had cautioned him not to be seduced[53]. But he

toujours étoit plus inclin à miséricorde qu'à vengeance;' and adds, that 'étant prince humain,' he thought it not reasonable to hurt such a prince as M. de Bourbon was, until the accusations were most clearly proved. p. 267.

[51] Sir Thomas More thus expressed the king's sentiments to Wolsey, on 13th Sept. 'His highness is glad he is deceived in his fears that the French king had happened by some means to have somewhat perceived of this practice. His grace now perceiveth well he doth not; for if he had, he would not have come to his house, or not so departed thence.' MS. Galb. B. 8. p. 63.

[52] Henry thought the delay so dangerous to the duke, as to order More to write thus to Wolsey, on 13th September: 'His opinion is,—that your grace should devise some goodly way by which the said John Russell might with all diligence convenient to be used, advertise the duke on the king's behalf, that his grace perceiveth that in Flanders and other places, more folk knew of the matter than were likely to keep it close; giving him his friendly loving counsel to declare himself, or make provision for his own safeguard.' MS. Galba. B. 8. p. 63.

[53] One of these was his kinsman St. Vallier, to whom, under an oath of secrecy, he communicated his projects, and who, on being arrested afterwards, deposed that he had thus advised the duke,—'Cousin, you told me yesterday what I have been thinking of all night, for I could not sleep. I see by this alliance which they offer you, that you will be the cause that the Germans, Spaniards and English will enter France. Think of the great evils that will follow; so much human blood, such destruction of towns and churches, so much misery and crime. Remember that you are one of the chief princes of the royal blood, beloved by every one, and will be cursed for a thousand years after your

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wavered too long, and executed his repentance with an unfortunate absence of that expeditious decision which usually marked his military movements. He set off with Uvarty; then paused; and still suspending his ultimate determination, feigned illness again, to get rid of his companion, whom he sent after Francis alone, to inform the king, that he had begun his journey. But instead of following, he reflected that his contested property had been put by the parliament in sequestration; and he wished before he advanced, to have some binding assurance of its restoration, against an opponent so powerful as the queen mother. With all these blended feelings, he went to Chantelles, where his richest valuables lay; and on 7th September, sent the bishop of Autun to Francis, with letters of submission and supplication[84].

On these critical moments and circumstances that mysterious future depended, whose marking scenes were to be his king's captivity, his own death, and the English reformation. Unfortunately, before the bishop arrived, not only Uvarty reached Francis, but

death, if you act to the perdition of the kingdom,' The constable answered, 'What would you have me do. The king and his mother have injured, and seek to destroy me.' Vallier advised him to abandon the wicked scheme, and speak frankly to the king. Bourbon burst into tears, and swore that he would not pursue them, but begged him to keep them secret. They parted the next day, when the duke's last words were, 'I promise you, cousin, that I will keep my word with you—keep your's with me.' Vallier's deposition is in the Recueil de Divers Memoires. Paris, 1623. MS. Mem. Bell. 491–3.

[84] Bellay has transcribed these too late-repenting epistles. 'Monseigneur, I wrote to you fully by Perot de Sevarty, and have since dispatched the bishop of Autun the bearer of these, to show you by him the desire I have to serve you. I entreat you to believe what he will say from me, and to assure you, upon my honor, that I will not commit a fault towards you.' The postscript was, 'May it please the king to restore the property of the late M. de Bourbon. He promises to serve him well and loyally, and with good heart, without being faulty towards him, in every place he shall chuse, and as much and as often as shall please, and to the end of his life. May it please his said lord to pardon those he may be displeased with on this business.' Bellay, 268–9.

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also the news, that instead of continuing his way to Lyons, the duke had turned off to Chantelles. This deviation excited the king's repressed doubts into an immediate alarm; and he sent the grand master of France with one hundred men at arms, to arrest or besiege him, and seconded these by three other similar corps, under his most trusty friends. The first body met the bishop as he was proceeding to Lyons with the letters, and seized him and his companions[55]. Tidings of his apprehension flew to Bourbon, and the duke's mind fell into a despair of recovering his sovereign's favor; and as he could not defend Chantelles, thought that he had no other way of saving his life, than by quitting the kingdom without delay. He put on a disguise, and with only his friend Pomperant, without either page or valet, at night, suddenly left his house and country, to revisit the latter only as its enemy, and to see the former no more[56].

The first night they lodged themselves with an old friend of the family; but there altering his opinion, as to the safest direction of his flight, the duke turned off to the house of Pomperant, where he rested the second night. His next advance was to St. Gerard le Puy, in the northern part of Auvergne[57]; and from thence, on a continued line, towards the Saone, till he came to Aigue-Perse, from which, on the 13th September, he wrote to Wolsey, expressing his thankfulness for the cardinal's good offices towards him[58].

[55] Bellay, 269, 270.
[56] M. Bellay, Vitell. 17. p. 270.
[57] Bellay, 271.
[58] His letter exists in MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 198. dated from Aigues, 13th September.

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It was on this day that Henry, without knowing his actual situation, wrote the letter of caution already cited. The king had justly foreseen, that the train of conspiracy had been so far extended, that it was scarcely possible to prevent its discovery [59].

Leaving Lyons on his left, and having taken little food, Bourbon sought refreshment at the small inn of St. Bouvet, hoping to be unknown to an old woman, its only inhabitant. But the king's post suddenly arriving from Lyons, on his way to his majesty at Tournon, and staying to feed his horse, they were obliged to dislodge and travel all night to seek their repast at the village of Vauquelles, two leagues further on. Here the hostess recognised Pomperant, and told him that some cavalry had passed thro the village that day. She lent them a fresh horse, and Bourbon pretending to be the servant, they went at midnight, with her son as their guide, to Dauce near Vienne, which they reached at break of day. The duke concealed himself in a house, fearing to be known by the king's guard on the river, while Pomperant went to explore, and learnt from a butcher, that many horse were waiting in Dauphiny to intercept them. Avoiding the public bridge over the Rhone, they went on half a league to the ferry boat; but there a dozen soldiers soon joined them, some of whom, when half way over, indicated, to Bourbon's alarm, that they knew Pomperant, but seemed ignorant of his peculiar state. Reaching the other side, they kept on the high road to Grenoble, while in sight of their companions; but turning off suddenly

[59] See before. Note 52.

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into a wood at St. Antoine, they went to sleep at Nanty, where the old dame, at supper, asked Pomperant if he was one of those who were playing the fool with Mons. Bourbon. He denied it; but soon after news arrived, that the provost of the inn was about a league off, in full pursuit of the duke. He was about to spring from the table to save himself, when his friend held him down, that he might not create suspicion; and quickly finishing their repast, they withdrew quietly to their horses, and rode immediately six leagues into the mountains, till they could find a place for a safe repose. On the next day, Tuesday, at dawn, they took the road of Beauvoisin, where they met a large body of cavalry, following admiral Bonnivet's army into Italy. They dreaded a discovery, but late on Wednesday night reached Chambery in safety, meaning to travel post to Suza, and thence by Savona or Genoa to Spain; but in the morning the count de St. Pol passed through the town, on the road to Suza; therefore compelled to alter their course, they turned to Mont du Chat; and eight leagues above Lyons they repassed the Rhone, and went northwards to St. Claude, near the lake of Geneva. Here the abbot being in the emperor's service, they discovered themselves to him, and he gave them an escort of horse to Poligny, and thence to Paperan, where they rested eight or ten days to refresh themselves from the exhaustion of a flight so harassing[60].

From Paperan, after he had recruited his strength and spirits, he moved to Besançon; and on 25th Sep-

[60] Bellay, 275.

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tember, apparently from that city, he sent off Le Reux with instructions, to represent to Henry the new state of his affairs, to desire his brief resolution upon it, and to state that he would even now enter France by Burgundy, if he could be assisted by the English artillery; and proposed to march straight in two lines, on Lyons and Paris, but that a new supply of money must be advanced for this purpose[61].

Bourbon's flight had been so sudden, and executed with such celerity, as not only to elude his enemies, but also to make it impossible for his friends to trace him. Some went to Corunna in search of him, assuming that he must have gone to Spain[62]; a larger portion proceeded to Besançon, in Franche Comte and Lierre, rather with better luck than judgment, for Bourbon took that direction only because he had been baffled at Suza. From Besançon he departed for Lierre, in Ferrette[63]. Here he found most of the gentlemen who had abandoned the king and their homes to follow him; a distressing spectacle to himself, no longer the commanding head of an undiscovered, sanguine, and well-supported conspiracy; but a fugitive from danger and death, like them, with all his chains of battle and victory broken, his reputation faded, hope sinking into despair, and seduced friends looking to him for support, while he was divested of all resources, but what the tardy and supplicated bounty of foreign princes, aiming only at their own aggran-

[61] These are preserved in the Cotton library. Vitell. B. 5. p. 199. He still said, 'He hoped to make it a profitable voyage to the king.' ib.

[62] Thus Jerningham wrote on 2d October: '' One of his gentlemen next about him is come hither to seek him.' MS. Vesp. L. 2. p. 199.

[63] Wolsey had intelligence of this, and so wrote to his ambassadors in Spain, on 8th November. Fidd. App. p. 134. He says, 'The lance knights were then at Sus-le-Sanne.' ib.

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dizemen and vexed by their failure, would coldly, and not without upbraidings, bestow. CHAP. IX.

As he was now near the German lance knights, the first point to be ascertained was, whether he could achieve any profitable enterprise by their aid. Wolsey, by remarking that he would join them[64], appears to have expected some good result from a soldiery for which he had paid so largely. The duke, at Lierre, on 21st October, was assembling what cavalry he could, in order to unite with the lance knights, who were "at Basigny, doing all the damage that they could to the French, except burning, which the duke has prohibited[65]." Bourbon sent his friend, la Fayette, one of the best artillery officers of France, and of whom he had the highest opinion, in the beginning of November, to Henry, to assist the English army in taking Boulogne, which had now become a favorite object with the cabinet at Westminster[66].

At the beginning of this month of November, Francis was still remaining at Lyons. Enough had occurred to keep him from passing into Italy; yet sufficient of the whole conspiracy had not transpired to prevent him from transmitting his army thither, under the care of Bonnivet. But he stayed away from the field of arms, only to be more active against

[64] Fid. App. B. 4.

[65] Letter of Hugues Mariner to duchess of Savoy, dated 21st October. MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 204.

[66] On 1st November, Russell announced this from Aynche, adding, 'La Fayette will undertake to win Boulogne in sixteen days, and Motterell in likewise; for, he says, no man knows them so well as he, for they be both fortified by his advice.' MS. Vitell. ib. p. 214. He also subjoins, 'M. Bourbon saith, 'an it be your pleasure to have him, he is content that ye shall have him for the time, but he is in great fear to come among Englishmen.' ib.

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his enemies, in countermining their secret plots by his secret negotiations. The English envoy, not aware of these, continued to paint strongly his financial penury and national unpopularity[67].

Francis had ordered the duke of Guise to watch the German lansquenets in their march on Burgundy, and commissioned D'Orval to defend Champagne against the English forces[68]. But the real dangers of the most formidable combination of hostility that ever menaced an independent nation, had passed away the moment that Bourbon left Chantelles in such precipitate flight. The master-hand that could alone give a conquering effect to the combined warfare he had planned, had then dropped the reins of its moving bodies from its grasp, at the very instant when its commanding and directing efforts were most needed. There was no one else that could then reunite them; and all that ensued was only separated and unconnected hostility, working to no end, and producing merely alarm and devastation, instead of victory, possession, or dethronement.

From this moment the invasions of France became only three insulated and unavailing attacks from Spain, Germany and England, while Bourbon was flying from the Alps of Piedmont towards those of Geneva, and there arrived only to witness the irremediable discomfiture of his elaborate scheme. As

[67] Hence Russell wrote to Wolsey, on 11th November from Besançon: 'They in France be now in great poverty and fear: and the saying is, that the French king, now being at Lyons, can borrow no more; nor dare not levy no more money among his commonalty, because he hath taken so much already, being in fear, if he should levy any more, to lose their heart for ever. I think that there never was prince so evil beloved among his subjects as he is.' MS. Vitell. B. 5. p. 217.

[68] Bellay, 280.

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September began, the Spaniards collected their army on their Pyrenean frontier; and the experienced Lautrec watching them, provisioned Fontarabbia, the main fortress of its border coast; and having no army to repel an invasion, withdrew, as the best defensive means of obstructing it in such a want of active force, all the cattle and food from the country near the line of the enemies advance[69]. On 16th September, the force of Spain reached St. John de Luz, and the next day attacked Bayonne; but Lautrec for three days baffled every assault, till they turned off on the fourth to their more favorite object, and laid determined siege to Fontarabbia. To the surprise of all France, its commander, Franget, unexpectedly and unnecessarily surrendered the place[70], which both nations equally valued and coveted; and thus gave the confederates a post which commanded the Bidassoa, and a lodgement on the south-western frontier of France, which facilitated the annoyance of Guyenne and Languedoc, and opened an avenue for co-operating with England in a dangerous aggression, in that line of operation, on which, in our times, the duke of Wellington advanced with constant progression victoriously to Thoulouse.

Simultaneously with this attack, the count Felix had descended with the German lansquenets already noticed, into Champagne, and besieged Coiffy, at the entrance of Franche Comte. The government was astonished to find this place also given up, and at the first summons; and the invaders passing the Meuse, above Neufchatel, advanced to the Marne,

[69] Bellay, 285. [70] Bellay, 287.

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near Joinville, which was also yielded. The duke of Guise hastened to defend Chaumont; and the Germans who, relying upon Bourbon's supplying cavalry, had brought none with them, began to be soon distressed for provisions, as they could as little forage for want of horse, as live without the supplies which this arm of war is most effective to procure[71]. This force, when Bourbon reached them in his flight, he strove unsuccessfully to procure. They waited a few days in a famishing state, and then, although the heart of France was before them with no effective soldiery to defend it, fell back into Lorraine with a heavy booty, and repassed the Meuse. Altho followed by the duke of Guise with what gend'armerie he could collect, they retired without disaster; but, by their retreat, effectively broke to pieces all the system and hopes of the elaborate campaign. Their friends were astonished at their retreat. Six weeks remained yet of the time for which they had been engaged; and the English envoy assured his cabinet, that if they "had tarried with M. Bourbon, and he had followed his enterprize, the most part of the realm would have drawn towards him, they being the sorriest people in the world that he did not come[72]." His next dispatch to Henry, announced that he had detected the mercenary cause of their infidelity[73]. No mutation of purpose could have

[71] Bellay describes the retreat.

[72] Russell's Lett. 11th Nov. Vitell. B. 6. p. 217.

[73] Besançon, 28th Nov. 'The cause why the Almains, that we entertained for the duke of Bourbon, did depart, is now well known; for the French king did send a great sum of money among them, insomuch that three captains had three flaggons full of crowns, besides that which the other captains had; and the messenger that brought and delivered the flaggons, required them to taste the French king's wine, and to keep pro-

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been more critical to any government, for there was no opposing army to resist their progress[74]. Released from his fears as to them, Francis caused the duke of Bourbon to be proclaimed a rebel, and to be banished the realm of France for ever[75]; and obtained a promise from their Diet, that six thousand Switzers should be sent promptly for his service[76]. This opportune corruptibility of the German lance knights, seems to have saved the French throne; for, after the whole campaign had failed, Wolsey still expressed to his sovereign his decided opinion, that if Bourbon could have "followed his enterprise, a great part of the realm would have drawn towards him[77]."

The duke's feelings must, indeed, have been agitated with the most mortifying vexation, for the third and greatest branch of his military confederacy, the English army, had invaded France according to his appointment, and was at that time fully available for the execution of his projects.

The English army having been transported to Calais at the end of August, the imperial general, count Buren, went from Flanders to Gravelines, on 4th September, to concert with the duke of Suffolk

mise with him, as he hath done with them. This did the bishop of Geneva, and his brother the bailiff of Amende in Burgundy shew me.' MS. ib. 222.

[74] 'As for any army that the French king assembleth, I can hear of none as yet; for he has as yet neither Almains nor Swiss.' Lett. ib. p. 222.

[75] Russell's Lett. 2. p. 221. [76] Ib. p. 221.

[77] Wolsey's letter of 29th Nov. 1523, in MS. ib. 223. He desired Russell, if Bourbon had not actually passed far on his way to Spain, to invite him to England for greater safety. ib.

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their uniting movements[78], having been apprized of the arrival of the Germans in Lorraine[79]. Bourbon's first suspension of his insurrection, occasioned Henry to desire his troops to remain a while in their position; but the plague raging at Calais and its vicinity, he ordered Suffolk to march them out of the English pale or boundary, into some wholesome place upon the frontier, provided he did not advance farther than he could surely abide, and not in any line that would enable their enemy to perceive what district they were about to invade[80].

It was at this precise juncture, when co-operation and directing councils from Bourbon were so essential to the effectual operations of this formidable force, that the duke began to relent from his revengeful passions, to send his repenting letter to Francis, and immediately afterwards to commence his precipitate flight[81]. No intelligence, therefore, came from him; and the absence of all superior guidance, induced Wolsey to recommend to his master the achievement of a local English object, by the siege and reduction of Boulogne. The Flemish generals opposed this partial measure, but on 12th November, the king signified, thro his secretary, that as yet no proof having been received of the duke's promised insurrection, his Majesty had "ultimately resolved to have the said siege experimented[82]."

[78] Knight's letter from Brussels of 4th September. MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 52. Buren said, 'The French are not in readiness to give battle at the first entrance.' ib.

[79] Ib.

[80] More's letter, as the king's secretary, to Wolsey, of 5th September, 'expressing also that Henry approved of all that he had done.' MS. ib.

[81] See before, p. 319.

[82] More's letter to Wolsey, 12th Sept. Galba, B. 8. p. 61. adding, on

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Information having reached England, of the reasons that made Bourbon defer his explosion at the time appointed, and that the French king had visited without detecting him, and that the conspiracy was proceeding without any tidings of the subsequent changes. Wolsey recommended to his sovereign to abandon the idea of attacking Boulogne for the present; and that the "army, with proclamations of liberty, and forbearing to burn, should proceed, and march forward to the places devised by the duke of Bourbon, which would be easily taken without resistance."

He stated the promising appearance there was "of winning some great part of France, or at least all that is on this side the Somme, which would be as honorable and beneficial, and more tenable than all Normandy, Gascony, and Guyenne." He declared his change of advice to have arisen from the communicated opinion of the duke and his council [83].

The great military judgment of Bourbon ought to have produced the adoption of his recommendation; but the sublimer talents of human nature are rarely felt or duly appreciated by those of a smaller grasp. Wolsey had, before this last mutation of his own mind, so fully set his master against the bolder scheme, and so intently fixed it on Boulogne, that Henry could not so precipitately renounce the deductions which former reasonings had produced. Therefore, after approving of his minister's manly

Bourbon's silence and delay, 'His highness verily thinketh as your grace has most prudently written, that there were no wonder therein.' ib.

[83] More's letter from Abingdon, of 30th Sept. recites this new advice of Wolsey. MS. ib. p. 70.

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conduct in avowing an alteration of sentiment on reasonable grounds[84], he gave his own arguments for preferring, in a month so late for military operations as October, the siege, to a winter campaign in the heart of France, in a very wet season. He thought the roads would be impassable for his artillery, and he remembered the sickness and the sufferings of the preceding invasion[85]. These first im-

[84] Henry's observation does credit to his sound judgment. 'His highness esteemeth nothing in counsel more perilous, than for one to persevere in the maintenance of his advice because he hath once given it.' ib. MS. p. 70. It is curious, that More, whose pen wrote this from his sovereign's mouth, was remarkable for the very defect here censured.

[85] As this letter of 30th Sept was written by Henry's secretary, on his dictation, at Abingdon, apart from the cardinal, and in opposition to his new changing advice, it is a fair specimen of the king's business mind, and of his mode of thinking and reasoning on state affairs; we will therefore give a large extract from it. After applauding Wolsey's reasons for his counsel, sir Thomas More was instructed to proceed, thus: 'Yet these, notwithstanding some considerations, move him to the other. 1st. As to abandoning the siege, and sending his army forward, his highness is not so much retarded and letted, for the hope of the good that would be done at the siege, as for the doubts that rise on his highness of the marching to the places devised; for as to the siege, altho he despaireth not, that if it were experimented, as late as it is, some good might grow thereof; yet the best part of the time is now, by the slackness of the Burgundians, passed and consumed ere they can begin. Wherefore, tho he seeth now not much hope of the siege, yet some considerations move him to think that from the marching forward, more charge, danger and peril will follow.

'I. The time of year is far passed for the marching. As for the siege the wet weather and rotten ways, and the wetness of the country on the river side, will not suffer his army to march with artillery; without which it were a great assurety to send them, as they may be constrained to strike battle with a more puissant host.

'II. The towns upon the Somme be not so easy to be taken as some men would make them, that would gladly bring us from Boulogne; or as the Burgundians make them, being desirous to bring us to them. If easy to be taken, they would be as easily lost when his army was withdrawn.

'III. As your grace thinketh that by thus marching, with the seas guarded, Montreuil, Terwyn, Hesdin and Boulogne, shall be secluded from victuals, and thereby be constrained to render. The king should of this be most joyous, but he doubteth; and it would be right hard for him to find the money that would suffice to keeping his army so long,

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pressions were not irrational; but we read with regret, that a royal bosom, which is the theoretical seat of generous pity, and the constitutional source of civil mercy, should have insisted, from too exclusive a regard to his soldiery, that, as they operated, they should be allowed to plunder [86].

That the imperial general would waste the season in supporting such a peculiar English object as the capture of Boulogne, was not a likely incident. His reluctance, avoiding refusal, took the shape of Flemish tardy gravity of motion; and Henry, after lancing several sneers at the slowness of his allies [87], with a sarcasm at their veracity in council [88], at last surrendered his judgment to the more experienced duke, and consented that the united troops, about six thousand horse and thirty thousand infantry, should penetrate along the Somme into the interior of France. If the lance knights had steadily co-operated with a force like this, and Bourbon had been in their foremost wing, calling upon his friends thus supported, to raise in all their districts their

both by sea and land. Therefore the king wishes to see first how the duke was able to sustain the impression of the enemy, and to write a good round letter unto my lady Margaret, in your own name, to stir them forward.' MS. Gal. B. 8. 72–5.

[86] 'As to sparing the country from burning and spoil, the king thinks that since his army shall march in hard weather, with many sore and grievous incommodities, if they should also forbear the profit of the spoil, the bare hope whereof, tho they got little, was great encouraging to them.' MS. ib. p. 73.

[87] As 'trust to their provision, of whose slackness and hard handling proof hath been had ere this,' p. 61; and 'the best part of the time is now, by the slackness of the Burgundians, passed and consumed.' p. 71.

[88] 'In whose report what trust there is; they made proof the last summer at Hefdin, which was in three months very weak, till they came at it, and in their eyes, very strong till they got from it.' MS. ib. p. 71. They had refused to join the English in assaulting the castle. Hall, 648.

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standards of revolt, the throne of France would, as far as human calculations could be justly extended into the ever mysterious future, have fallen into ruin as they advanced. But Bourbon's absence, on his perilous escape, at their first grand movement, and the faithless defalcation of the Germans, when he had emerged again to head them, broke the power of this alarming confederacy, deterred Bourbon's friends from rising, defeated the settled plan of the campaign, and left the English and Flemish forces to make their future operations at random, for such purposes as they could jointly agree upon.

They hoped for battle; but the French had no forces for such an encounter; and their true system of defending France against a desultory invasion, had been learnt from former sufferings. This was to garrison the defensible fortresses, and to retire before the enemy, destroying whatever could give him forage or provisions. This Fabian system suited the inferior force of Tremouille, to whose experienced talents Francis now chiefly confided the protection of his crown. It incurred no chance of disaster; and as it had twice before compelled Henry's unconquered armies to retreat, it was now adopted with the same emancipating result. Suffolk and Buren, passing the towns that were prepared to stand a siege, reached the Somme, at Bray. Tremouille took post here with one hundred and fifty men at arms and fifteen hundred infantry, to dispute the passage. He had hoped, if the English forced the post, he could have retired along the causeway, and broken up the bridges after him; but the charge was too vigorous. His defending body were thrown

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into confusion, and many cut to pieces: the town was taken on 20th October, the river passed, and the combined forces pressing on, soon reached and crossed the Oize, burning, plundering and terrifying, till they had advanced within eleven leagues of Paris[89]. These successes spread thro France consternation and despondency[90], and Henry resumed his belief that the crown of France might yet adorn his brow[91]. This progress roused the French government to collect what provincial forces could be raised, under the duc de Vendome; and, ere a few more weeks had elapsed, the alarm of the Parisians subsided into exultation, when our commander, finding the Germans stubborn in their retreat; fearing to be harrassed by the arming country, and by co-operation between Vendome and Tremouille, and perceiving his provisions failing, and his army sickening and diminishing, from a season prematurely and unusually cold, decided at last to fall back on the Somme, and from that to Wallen and Burgues into Artois, and thence into Calais, by the middle of December[92]. Suffolk sent lord Sondes to explain

[89] Bellay, 297–302; Hall, 668.

[90] Russell wrote on 11th November, to Wolsey: 'Sir, they fear your army marvellously in France; and the saying is, that your said army is almost at Paris.' MS. Vit. B. 5. p. 217.

[91] More wrote to Wolsey, on 30th October, 'I read your letters to the king, whereby he perceived the goodly victory that his army hath had at Ancre and Bray, and winning the passage over the Somme, with free entry into the bowels of France, without appearance of any great resistance; with demonstration and *good likelihood of the attaining of his ancient right and title to the crown of France*, to his singular comfort and eternal honor.' MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 87.

[92] Bellay, 304, 5; Hall. 668–672. Wolsey directs the ambassadors in Spain to give those reasons to the emperor, for not keeping the army longer in France. 'The season of the year was so frequent with extreme cold, and other sore weathers, that neither man nor beast could longer endure marching in the field; but died daily and nightly, on both parts, in great numbers for cold: and divers lost their fingers, hands and feet, being frozen dead upon their beds, and some daily cut off. Remem-

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to the king the necessity of the retreat, who expatiated on the miseries of the army, severe frosts, bitter winds, the weather now wet, the ways deep, long nights and short days, great journeys, and little victuals, which caused the soldiers to die daily. "We knew this," exclaimed Henry, "before your coming, and therefore had appointed lord Moulsey to relieve you with six thousand men, which are almost ready; for we wish that, in no wise, the army should break up." But Suffolk had let them depart. He pleaded the example of the duke of Bourbon, who, from the extremity of the season, had broken up his camp. Henry was indignant that nothing had been done, and that nothing could now be hoped for; and for a long time kept Suffolk and the chief captains from his presence[93]. Thus ended the formidable menace of this long dreaded campaign, and with all dread in France of Henry's federation with his imperial rival. He ordered Wolsey to apprise the emperor, that if the lance knights would return, and his Flemish general co-operate, the English troops should make with them a winter campaign[94]. But, as neither of these conditional events took place, the royal mind subsided into a more pacified state, awaiting the issue of the next year's course of things[95]. A part of the world however, imputed the failure to Wolsey's secret orders; and thus Tyndal, his con-

bering also, that the duke of Bourbon's army was then totally scattered, without hope of any fruit to ensue of his enterprises at this time.' Fidd. App. 139.

[93] Hall, 672.

[94] Wolsey's Lett. Fidd. 140.

[95] Bellay, allowably enough, gives the honor of the failure of this invasion, to Tremouille, who, he says, 'had with such a small force, to defend the country against an army so powerful, without his enemy's being able to keep, on his going away, a single foot of what he had conquered.' p. 305.

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temporary, seven years afterwards expresses these accusing murmurs of the public voice.

"We sent our soldiers two summers against the French, unto whose chief captains THE CARDINAL HAD APPOINTED HOW FAR THEY SHOULD GO, AND WHAT THEY SHOULD DO; and therefore the French king was nothing afraid, but brought all his power against the emperor in other places; and so was the emperor ever betrayed. Thus the cardinal was his friend openly, and the French king's secretly, for no love that he had to Francis, but to help the pope, and to become pope himself[96]."

Such were the surmises of the disappointed; but they seem unjust impeachments of Wolsey, as to this campaign, unless the communication to the French was a ramification of his doubling and ever mysterious politics[97]. It is certain that neither the pope nor Wolsey wished to abase Francis too much, that the emperor might not become too great. From whatever source the disappointment originated, Charles afterwards beheld Wolsey with no cordial eye, and Wolsey felt the effect of his mistrust; for, as this fruitless campaign was closing, a new pope was chosen from the emperor's party, which, instead of being Wolsey, was the cardinal de Medici, or Clement VII[98].

[96] Tyndale's 'Practice of Prelates;' printed 1530.

[97] A striking instance of these occurred in 1524. England was all that year in close alliance, and was with Charles V. against Francis; and yet, in March 1525, the emperor's ambassador here, Du Praet, charged on Wolsey, who had intercepted his official letters, and who admitted the fact, that Joachim, the agent of the French government, who had come in the guise of a trader, had been living secretly lodged in a house, in Black Fryars, in London, for eight months before, in frequent communication with the labyrinthian cardinal. See the letter in Fiddes, App. p. 334.

[98] See before, p. 226.

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This blow to Wolsey's dearest hopes, which he had taken some pains to prevent, he could neither retrieve, forgive, nor forget. As he had abandoned Francis, to induce the emperor to exalt him to the popedom, his resentment at this new disppointment, which may be attributed to his own insincerity, began a revolution in his mind, which, before two years more elapsed, exhibited the English government veering again to the most opposite quarter, like a political weathercock; but with consequences that demolished Wolsey's greatness, agitated England, curtailed the papacy, and liberated Europe[99].

[99] It was to Adrian, a little before his death, 12 Cal. Oct. 1522, that Ludovicus Vives, from Louvain, expressed the earnest effusions of his mind on these military agitations. 'Two things are required and expected from you: rest from arms among the princes; rest from tumult among their subjects. How strange that man should, by laying waste, by consuming, by killing, by making ruin, and spreading extensive slaughter, seek his greatest praise, an illustrious name, and immortal glory! That those persons should be dear to men, who so hate their fellow men as to deprive some of their lands, others of their fortunes, and others of their lives; and that the most acceptable are those who war on mankind, and become the associates of the plunderer and the profligate!

'How much more upright are your feelings! How greatly more suitable are they to the real nature of man! You think that you are his true friend if you could keep us in amity together; if you could produce that result which peace only can accomplish—that every one should securely enjoy his property, his wife, his children, and his acquaintance.

'I wish all princes could pass some part of their lives in a private station, that they might know the wants of their subjects; and from suffering themselves, learn to pity those who suffer. But educated amid regal pomp, they have little feeling for the calamities of others. They think it nothing that for a petty quarrel, or from vain ambition, fields, villages and towns should be laid waste; a population consumed, and even nations subverted. Who can see without groans, or hear without tears, the crowds of the aged and of infants rendered homeless, and weeping about the churches; their property taken away by military violence, even of their friendly armies, and, what is still more intolerable, destroyed and burnt before their eyes.' Ep. 2.

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CHAP. XII.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR WITH FRANCE IN 1524—EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM ITALY—BOURBON RENEWS HIS ENGAGEMENT TO MAKE HENRY KING OF FRANCE—INVADES IT FOR THAT PURPOSE, AND BESIEGES MARSEILLES.

CHAP. XII.

A MORE specious plan for the subjection of a crown and nation to the will of their enemies [1], had rarely been defeated more entirely, than the duke of Bourbon's scheme of insurrection in France, and for its invasion during the autumn of 1523. But as nations arise not, neither do they fall by human contrivances. It is because their destinies rest on a superior causation, that their stability and its departure have so often been found unaffected by the strength and wisdom that have attacked, or by the weakness and errors that have defended them. It might amuse a Frederic to say, that heaven always befriends large battalions; but no remark has been oftener confuted by both ancient and modern history, and by his own. Something more than numbers or skill or both united are requisite for success, or Napoleon would not have failed at Acre, in Russia, at Leipsig, or on the hills of Waterloo. From the accession of Henry VIII. to his death, France

[1] Bellay admits, that if Francis had crossed the Alps before he had heard of the duke's negociations, France would have been 'ébranlée, before it could have been succored, because if the king would then have returned out of Italy, the imperial army there would have followed his tail.' Mem. 17. p. 264.

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BOOK I

was repeatedly in peril of conquest and partition, according to the usual laws and principles that guide human calculations. And yet it so often escaped the impending calamity when that event seemed most probable, that a foreseeing mind might have been warranted to infer that it was intended to occupy a great and influential station in the future history and on the progressive fortunes of mankind.

The signal failure of all that Bourbon had thus far planned might have been expected to have prevented any repetition of his project; but it was because the disappointment was not ascribable to human power or policy, but had arisen from something different; from things, which, in our phrases, used to signify unknown causation, we call by the gratuitous term accidents, that he and his confederates were induced to make new arrangements in 1524, for accomplishing his projects. The more closely the preceding incidents were contemplated, the more their unlooked-for result appeared to have been the mere contingency of coinciding circumstances. Francis and France had not averted the machinated ruin, by military talent or prowess; nor had the duke of Bourbon been detected in deceiving any of the confederates by treachery or misrepresentation. The seemingly casual detention of the French king in the immediate vicinity of the meditated explosion, having suspended and delayed it when all its appointed auxiliaries were moving to concur in spreading its overwhelming effects; and the great directing leader becoming a fugitive at that crisis when his commanding talents were most wanted to superintend and combine the co-operating forces that came

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to be guided by his counsels, the whole scheme was dislocated, confidence paralysed, and that state of doubting mind produced, both in the disaffected French and the hired lansquenets, which led the one to be corruptible and the other to be inactive. The inference of the great captains and statesmen, was, that the disappointment was not irretrievable; that the elements of success remained as available as before; and that a renewal of the previous plan, with some modifications from the circumstances which had occurred, would still produce the triumph that was desired, and realise the projects which the duke of Bourbon had covenanted to achieve.

As soon as the Germans were found inflexibly resolved not to return upon France, and therefore that the English army would recede, this nobleman, refusing the new overtures that Francis caused to be made to him at Lierre[2], set out to take shelter with the emperor, and to concert with him for engaging the next year, 1524, in a more prosperous campaign. Having declined the cardinal's invitation into England[3], either because he thought a visit to it would dissatisfy his favoring countrymen, or rouse the emperor's jealousy; or that from some disquieting doubts of Wolsey's honesty, he deemed it unsafe to himself, he preferred to traverse Germany from Switzerland to Trent, which he reached in six weeks, and whence, resting there a few days, he passed into Mantua. Here its marquis, whose father had been the brother of his mother, received him kindly, and supplied him and his companions with horses, arms,

[2] M. Bellay. Mem. p. 276.
[3] Wolsey's Letter, 29th Nov. MS. Vit. B. 5. p. 223.

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and necessaries. On the fourth day after his arrival he departed to Cremona, where the governor welcomed him, and gave him an escort of horse to Placentia. There he consulted on the future operations of the war, with Lannoy the viceroy of Naples, who was now the emperor's lieutenant-general in Milan, and then hastened to Genoa to embark for the Spanish court, to which he sent a confidential officer to receive from that its ulterior directions. Five weeks he remained at this port before the contrary winds allowed the answer to arrive, which gave him the option of sailing to Spain, or of remaining in Italy[4]. He preferred the latter alternative, that he might see the issue of the military movements, and on this decision proceeded to the viceroy and imperial army at Binasq[5]. The French officers who had been sent to seize him, having missed their prey, could only obtain the gratification of plundering his seat at Chantelles of its superb furniture, which surpassed in state and beauty what any other prince in Europe possessed[6].

During these transactions, the opposing armies in Italy were monœuvreing against each other. The admiral Bonnivet assigning his van to Montmorency, marched on Milan. The imperial general Prospero Colonna ordered the active Antonio Leyva to advance from Asti on the Tanaro. He marched and took Valenza, near its junction with the Po. As this movement brought him nearer to the French, Bonnivet went forward and offered battle. Leyva

[4] Bellay, 277. It was brought by Adrian de Cray, Seigneur de Reux, and by the Signeur de Lurcy, whom he had sent to Charles. ib.
[5] Bellay, 278. [6] Ib. 278.

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hastened to the Ticino, and retired over it, and the admiral captured Novarra, and all the towns of the Ommeline. Prospero, who was very ill, made a show of fighting with his concentrated forces, but perceiving that he could not prevent the French from passing the Ticino, he withdrew to Milan; and finding that city unsafe, from the confusion and alarm of its inhabitants, he fell back to Lodi on the Adda[7].

The citizens representing to Bonnivet, that if his soldiers were brought to Milan, they would sack it, and make it useless to his master, proposed to expel from it themselves the imperialists, and to redeem it by money. This treaty caused a pause in the admiral's movements for a few days; and Prospero assiduously used the interval to re-fortify the city, and for its preservation, to abandon all the rest of the duchy except Cremona and Pavia, to which latter place he dispatched Leyva, with the one thousand additional men whom he withdrew from Alexandria, which the French immediately seized, while he sent three thousand more to protect Cremona. Bonnivet perceiving the mistake into which he had been drawn, attempted to repair the delay by an instant march on Milan. But it was too late, as Prospero had there collected an effective army of ten thousand men: yet still not despairing of ultimate success, the admiral encamped before it between Lodi and Pavia[8]; and hearing that the duke of Mantua had arrived at Lodi with an armed force, which the pope had supplied to aid the league, he directed the celebrated Bayard, with eight thousand four hundred

[7] Bellay, 281–8.

[8] Ib. 290.

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BOOK I. 1524.

men, to attempt to surprise him. The papal general heard of this advance, and dreading the contest, abandoned the city. Bayard took it, and being joined by Rencé, a Roman baron, with four thousand Italians, was induced to try whether Cremona was impregnable to a vigorous assault. Prospero sent in haste three thousand men from Pavia to strengthen its defence; and ordered the duke of Urbino with the Venetians, and Mantua with the ecclesiastical forces, to march up and hinder the assault. Bayard, undismayed and resolute, pursued his attack, till in three days he had made a competent breach, and was arranging his men for the assault, when such torrents of rain fell that the soldiers could not keep their footing. It lasted four days, which gave the garrison time to repair the dilapidation; and as the effect of the rains on the roads prevented food from being brought up by the usual channels, and the opposing forces had so stationed themselves on both sides of the Po, as to intercept all supplies from any other direction, the want of provisions compelled the French commander to retire to the camp before Milan[9].

The admiral's object was to starve this large city into a surrender, and as a famine from his close blockade began to increase among its citizens, it was impossible to save it unless he could be dislodged; and he was too strong to make a battle for that purpose safe.

But a greater mind than his, the genius of the duke of Bourbon, had now reached the camp of the

[9] Bellay, 291-3.

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imperialists, and a train of progressive victory accompanied his presence. The emperor made him lieutenant-general of all his army in Lombardy, and ordered the viceroy to obey his commands[10]. This was grating to Lannoy's proud spirit, who with the able marquis de Pescara had taken the head of the forces, on Prospero Colonna's increasing illness, and who had before kept away from this general rather than be subordinate to him[11]. But the duke, who joined the army in February, judiciously continued him in the active pre-eminence, and contented himself with expressing those directing counsels of his superior intelligence, which gave precision, system, and success to all the future operations.

Bourbon saw that if Bonnivet could not be beaten, he might yet be so constrained in his supplies as to be compelled to fall back; and in order to place him under this necessity in time to save Milan, the duke directed the enterprising Antonio de Leyva, to make demonstrations from Pavia, of attacking the bridge which the admiral had fixed at Vigeva, for the conveyance of his principal provisions. To block up one of the main roads by which its food had been conveyed to Milan, the French general had taken Monza on the little river above it; but now alarmed for his own supplies from Vigeva, and solicitous to secure what was so important to his own subsistence, he marched Bayard and Rencé from Monza to this bridge, the loss of which might have starved his

[10] The bishop of Bath, in his dispatch to Wolsey from Rome, 1st February 1524, communicates this fact, and adds, 'The said duke is now coming to Milan to exercise the power.' MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 1.

[11] 'Ne voulant venir ou il étoit pour de lui être commandé. Bellay, p. 309.

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army. Bourbon had discerned that, in the vicinity of an hostile army which could use its own choice of attacking whichever part was the weakest, the French, not having forces enow to make both points impregnable, must, if both were menaced, either lose them by insufficient garrisons, or abandon one to preserve the other. Bonnivet preferred to weaken Monza, that he might keep Vigeva; and this movement, however indispensable, ruined his campaign. It uncovered that point of his blockade by which he had so much distressed the city; and as soon as Bayard left this post, such abundance of provisions were immediately introduced from it, as to terminate every hope of starving the city into surrender[12].

For six weeks the French troops had been enduring, patiently, the snows and frosts of an early and rigorous winter, expecting every day that their sufferings would end by the capture of the city. Their spirits sank as this became unlikely, and the admiral was compelled to submit to the mortification of raising his protracted siege. He retired, with vexed reluctance to fix his station at Biagras and its vicinity, to preserve his army[13], and sent Rencé to besiege Aronna, as a point of needful security. A timely reinforcement of its garrison prevented a surprise. Rencé battered it for twenty-five days, and made three assaults, to be repulsed in all. He then mined its wall, and blew it up; but it is described to have fallen down into the very space it had quitted,

[12] Bellay, 307.

[13] Bellay, 308. On 27th February 1524, Russell announced this recession to Wolsey. 'The Frenchmen be withdrawn from all such towns and places as they kept, and be congregated at a place called Biangrace.' MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 9.

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and to his surprise and discomfiture appeared standing and unbroken. His losses left him no choice but to retreat into a nearer communication with the main French army [14]. CHAP. XII.

Bourbon continued his plan of operating on the channels of his opponents supplies, so as to leave them no option between famine or retreat. Bonnivet was desirous to extricate himself from this dilemma by a battle, and fixed on the 21st February to fight it [15]; but the duke refused what his antagonist deemed the most beneficial to himself, till the time arrived that he should adopt it for his own advantage.

Six thousand Germans, whom the Venetians had engaged, came over the Tyrol into their camp. All these forces were now directed to pass the Adda, and unite with the main body [16], that they might wage the battle that should be deemed expedient with their collective strength. The confederated troops, by their junction, presented a body of thirty thousand foot and two thousand seven hundred cavalry [17]; and in March 1524 [18], began their operations by taking post on the high road from Milan to Pavia. They learnt that Bayard was at Rebec with his division, sufficiently far from the great French camp as to invite a camisade or a night surprise. Clothing the men selected to accompany them in a white shirt over their armor, to be distin-

[14] Bellay, 308, 309. The fact mentioned by this intelligent officer of the wall settling after the explosion into its former base, implies, that the powder used was not sufficient to break its cohesion, and had been so centrally applied as to elevate it without throwing it on either side.

[15] Russell's Lett. MS. ib. p. 9.

[16] Bishop of Bath's Letter, MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 2. Bellay, 310.

[17] Bath's Lett. ib. [18] Bellay, 310.

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guished from their adversaries, the marquis of Pescara, with Spanish infantry, and the pope's nephew, John de Medicis with competent cavalry, set off as evening closed; arrived at their point of attack two hours before day; stormed the entrenchment, and carried it. Bayard, tho labouring under illness, mounted his horse, and with great ability saved his troops by an expeditious retreat, with the loss of their baggage [19]. The admiral who had well watched his enemy, was hastening to their succor, when he met them in their flight; and tho his forces were so much extenuated by his winter campaign as to be half the number of those that were pressing upon him [20], he had the courage to offer them every day a pitched battle; but Bourbon declined it. He saw that the imperialists could push the French out of the Milanese by skilful movements, without fighting; and reserving his army entire for ulterior use, he wisely determined to gain all that victory could give, without risking the chances and the loss of a severe conflict to obtain it [21].

Bonnivet sent to the Grisons for six thousand Swiss troops; but before they arrived, the combined army, to displace him from his advantageous post at Biagras, crossed the Ticino, and encamped at Gambolat, to cut off his supplies from the Ommeline; and at the same time took Garlasco by storm, which opened the avenue for their own provisions from Pavia, and stretched their posts to Binasco. That the road of the Ommeline might not be closed against him, the admiral was obliged to move to Vigeva. These counter po-

[19] Bellay, 311, 312.
[20] Russell's Letter, ib. Bellay.
[21] Bellay, 312.

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sitions brought both armies so near, that the French line of battle was three days drawn out to wage it, tho not half the number of their antagonists; but these pursuing their securer plan, declined the combat, and captured Sazanna, and then Vercelle, to force Bonnivet, by the loss of his supplies from Turin and Vercellese, to fall still farther back, as his only, though reluctant choice[22].

To be near the Swiss in their descent, who were now indispensable to his adopting an offensive plan, and who were marching to Lodi, the admiral withdrew to Novarra[23]. The general Medici was sent to repel the Grisons, and they retrograded before him to a remote mountain passage. Forcing Biagras, he obtained great booty, which being taken to Milan, spread or was followed by a plague that took off forty thousand of its citizens[24]. As the Swiss were now descending nearer France upon Ivrea, the viceroy, to stop their progress, advanced to Marian; and to join them, the admiral moved suddenly off eighteen miles from Novarra towards Romagnano, with the pestilential disorder raging among his soldiers[25]. The French, before they moved, had been proffered the battle by Bourbon, but in their turn declined it[26].

[22] Bellay, 312–316.

[23] Bellay, 317. On 25th April, the bishop of Bath informed Wolsey of this movement, adding, 'for haste in withdrawing they have lost much of their carriages, and sundry great pieces of their artillery. They be in evil case, both for lack of money and lack of victuals.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 30.

[24] Bellay, 318.

[25] Bell. 319. The bishop, 8th May, wrote, 'The French camp is sore troubled with the plague.' MS. ib.

[26] On 20th March, De Crey wrote to the imperial ambassador in England from the camp of St. George; 'That he hoped the battle

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They could expect, after this retrogression, no better victory than an escape. From want of means, they could profit by no success; and their antagonists so far outnumbered them as to make defeat the most probable issue to them of the contest: nor was it quite safe to confront their soldiers, in this dispiriting moment, against Bourbon[27].

Satisfied with the expulsion of the French from the Milanese, the viceroy was now going to rest upon his laurels, and to post his troops in their encampment; but the master eye of Bourbon saw that as yet not half was done of what could be accomplished, and urged him to press forward, and now to compel a battle or retreat before any reinforcements should increase its difficulties. They disputed upon the subject; and profiting by the impolitic pause which the discussion occasioned, the admiral at midnight marched up to the Sessia; and at the dawn, had the gratification to see that the Swiss had simultaneously reached the other bank of the river. To desire them to cross it to him was his immediate message, which, to his astonishment, was answered by a positive refusal. They had been promised that the duke of Longueville should have met them at Ivrea with four hundred cavalry, and they found no such force there to get them provisions, and to protect their flanks.

would be fought which should drive away the French.' And on 30th March, Bourbon himself complains, in an original French epistle to Penthievre in the British Museum, that 'then he could not get his enemies to give battle, tho he was urging them as much as he could.' MS. Vitel. B. 6. p. 22, 23.

[27] De Crey wrote, 'the Duke of Bourbon thinks he could draw away most part of the French army if he had but ready money to pay them.' MS. Vitel. B. 6. p. 22.

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Affronted at this neglect, they resolved to return homewards [28].

Before these differences could be arranged, the imperialists, who at last assented to Bourbon's wish to pursue, had reached Bonnivet. He collected his gendarmerie to sustain their charge, and was instantly disabled by the shot of an arquebusse on his arm. Bayard advanced to confront the foe, but another shot struck him in the body. His friends prayed him to withdraw. His firm answer was, that he had never turned his back upon an adversary. He was taken from his horse and placed against a tree, with his face, as he desired, towards his enemies. It was here the duke of Bourbon came to him, and expressed his pity for the suffering state of such a virtuous knight. "Monsieur!" exclaimed the expiring hero, "I need no pity, for I am dying like a man of honor. But I pity you to be thus serving against your prince, your country, and your oath [29]."

The French had now no alternative but retreat. The count de St. Pol, who had taken the command, hastily passed the river, gave his artillery to the Swiss, who retired with it thro the vale of Aosta;

[28] Bellay, 340. We learn from Russell's despatch of 11th March, from Besançon, that this delay was not Longueville's fault. 'The French king did levy 4,000 men at arms, to pass the mountains for reforcing of his army there, of which the duke of Longueville will be captain, but of that number he cannot find but 200 that will go thither, because they say the French horse and foot never received no penny of wages since they passed the mountain.' MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 15.

[29] Bellay, 342. The efficacy of the pursuit was lessened by its tardiness, which the bishop thus explains: 'Our men made after them, howbeit but very slackly, and the cause was, that the soldiers of our army be very evil paid, and therefore when it should come to the point that they should do any good, the captain *cannot* get them forward.' MS. ib. p. 42.

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and falling back by Turin towards Suza, he met, near Besançon, the corps of Longueville, whose absence had alienated the Switzers[30]. Thus Bourbon, altho he had failed in France to put its crown upon Henry's head, had the credit and the satisfaction of driving the French army over the Alps: and being re-established in fame and confidence by this success, he was requested by both the emperor and king of England to form for their advantage, his ablest scheme for a speedy invasion of disheartened and discontented France; an achievement which was now in his earnest contemplation[31].

While these great incidents were evolving, the new year opened in England with recriminations of Buren, the Flemish general, and Wolsey, on each other, for the failure of any benefit from the last campaign[32]. Criticisms abounded; and the cardinal of Liege thought himself competent to condemn the plan on which Buren had acted, and proposed a new one of his own, as preferable in his mind to all that the Flemish and English cabinets had devised. This was, to advance boldly into France without meddling with the existing fortresses; but instead of them, to take such places as could be captured without difficulty, and to surround these with new fortifica-

[30] Bellay, 343–5. This gentleman has described this interesting campaign with the precision of an intelligent officer, and with the correctness of an eye witness.

[31] Bath, on 8th May, so apprised Wolsey from the pope: 'His holiness says, the duke of Bourbon maketh his reckoning to go straight forward into France. They have 8,000 Spaniards, 6 or 7,000 lance knights, besides their light horse and Italian foot.' MS. ib. p. 48.

[32] We learn this from Dr. Knight's letter in MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 103. Lady Margaret took her general's part, and compared the cardinal to a wife, who, expecting reproaches from her husband began scolding him first. Ib.

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tions, and thus, by continuing to go forward and to fortify as they advanced, a large tract of country he thought might be securely and lastingly held [33]. This sage scheme pleased the prime minister, at Brussels and the English ambassador there, and only required great patience of time, great expenditure of money, and great quietude on the part of the enemy, to be successfully executed. But Dr. Knight, who communicated this profound device, sent also a wiser opinion, which was, that if the English army should make another descent on France, it should act singly and alone. If it united with the imperialists, he feared a third invasion would end like the two former [34]. Wolsey was earnest that the duke of Bourbon should come to England and direct an invasion of France from the low countries, with which the English could co-operate. This was most combinable with advantages to England, and the cardinal directed Pace to urge it to the emperor, and to probe carefully, but vigilantly, what designs the imperial cabinet had to promote purposes of their own at England's expence [35].

Francis, beaten in the war, and dreading Bourbon's talents, became active to disunite his allies by secret negotiations with the papal cabinet [36]. He found the

[33] Knight's letter from Brussels of 13th January 1524. MS. Gal. B. 8. p. 101.

[34] MS. ib. p. 104.

[35] See Wolsey's letter of 15th January 1524, printed in Fiddes' App. 140–4. This loquacious and tedius effusion, as most of his diplomatic papers are, implies a visible distrust or dislike of the emperor.

[36] 'The French king makes daily great offers unto the pope, and daily increases the same, to draw him to his party; and hath attempted, with promises of large pensions, all such as are in favor and authority with his holiness. Notwithstanding all this, his holiness saith, he will not forsake his old friends.' B. Bath's Lett. 1st Feb. MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 1.

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pontiff's mind in an impressible state. The French disasters made the emperor too formidable to the popedom. It was called upon for money, which it was either unable or unwilling to supply [37], and Clement could not ascertain the future intentions of the English government [38]. To explore, advise and achieve what he could that would be most beneficial to the Roman see, he sent the archbishop of Capua, to visit the Spanish, French and English courts [39]. Nothing was attained by this prelate; but the pope declared to the English ambassador, that he would never abandon the king of England [40]. Clement's real wishes were against the French, because they were the most unmanageable when successful. But he thought they would defeat Bourbon, and therefore desired to shrink into a neutrality while the issue was undecided [41].

[37] 'The emperor's agents in Italy would that he, they being exhausted of money, should bear all the charges of the war, which is to him impossible: for in the see, he found not the treasure of one groat sterling.' Ib.

[38] Therefore the bishop urges Wolsey to take some decided part, lest the pope 'be compelled to do something contrary to the king's purposes.' MS. ib.

[39] Wolsey, in his letter of May 1524 to the English ambassador at Rome, details the particulars of this prelate's ineffectual negociations to reconcile the contending parties. MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 66–70. We have also in the same MS. the archbishop's own report to the pope, that none of his proposals had been approved, but on the contrary were deemed only the perpetual seminarium of new wars. P. 72.

[40] Bath says of the pope, 'he commanded us to write to the king and your grace, that he will firmly keep his promise made unto us, and *never forsake the king* as long as he liveth, though the Frenchmen should have power to drive him out of Rome.' MS. ib. p. 8.

[41] Hence while the French were offering combat, Pace wrote, 21st February, from Venice, 'the pope and they are all in one predicament, and in marvellous fear of the success of the battle.' MS. ib. p. 5. To the same effect the bishop of Bath, of the pope: 'We do see him in great perplexity, fearing the success in the duchy of Milan, and that the French king will obtain the same.' MS. ib. p. 1.

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CHAP. XII.

Under similar apprehensions, Wolsey's politics became more pacific, and in March a commission was issued to treat with the emperor for effectuating a peace[42]. But two months afterwards, when news had arrived of the duke's splendid success in driving his antagonists over the Alps in a state of ruin, the tone was changed, and a new commission was signed, to settle with Charles and Bourbon an immediate treaty for the invasion of France[43].

To this great object and to the grand results that were to flow from it, all the attention of Henry and of the emperor was once more directed. Again the flattering scheme was renewed, that Henry should be made king of France, and that Bourbon should take the oath of fealty to him. It was in May 1524, that the new plan to conquer Francis and his kingdom, was settled. The duke was to cross the Alps with a competent army; as this advanced, Henry was to land another in Picardy, and Margaret was to send an auxiliary one from Flanders. The emperor and England were each to supply the French prince with one hundred thousand crowns, and a further sum when his invasion was effected[44]. But Wolsey apprised Pace, the ambassador he sent to accompany Bourbon, that his sovereign would not pass into France until the duke's progress was such, that a sure and evident opportunity offered of recovering the French crown. He repeated emphatically, that it

[42] This, dated 28th March, is in MS. ib. p. 19.

[43] It was issued on 24th May, and is in MS. ib. p. 51. and the proposed treaty, p. 56. One of its articles notices the plan of Henry having the crown of France, and thereby shows, that the emperor had assented to it.

[44] Treaty in MS. ib.

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was in case "by any great revolution in France upon Bourbon's descending there, or by other victory, there should be commodity given to the king to take any notable portion of the country," that Henry would make the expedition[45]. If Wolsey dealt at all treacherously in this year's campaign, it was in advising the king to wait for Bourbon's successes before his forces moved, instead of assisting to facilitate his progress by a simultaneous attack. To leave the duke to encounter the whole weight of the French power concentering upon him, instead of dividing its stream by a co-operating invasion; and to expect that such a single attack would shake France into confusion, has an aspect so unmilitary and impolitic, that it is difficult to believe that a minister of Wolsey's abilities could honestly advise it. But to request the duke not to make his invasion, unless he could alone accomplish it; and thus to put the assistance of England on a condition that amounted almost to an impossibility, has a suspicious appearance of a deliberate intention to withhold it, and to abandon Bourbon to his own single efforts[46]. The cardinal was now in full

[45] See his letter to Pace of 28th May, MS. ib. p. 58. and MS. Harl. N° 283, p. 59. There is something in the letter which forces some suspicion on the mind that reads it. While he orders Pace to 'exhort him valiantly to descend into France,' it again repeats, that 'the king is not minded to advance on this side, *till* some great revolution or success be happened on the other;' and it also says, 'that the warning of the duke's entrance will be very late, and the season of the year will be so far overpast for doing any notable exploit on this side, either in the king's person or by lieutenant.' Ib. 59. It seems to me, that when he wrote this letter, he had determined that Francis should not that year be endangered by an English invasion.

[46] His words are, 'Neither the *king's highness nor I* will advise him to enter with so small a company, but that if *little or nothing* were done on this side, he might yet be able to keep the field, besiege towns and places, and also to give the battle to the French king, if need be; for the king's highness being *not minded* to advance on his side till some great

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cordiality with the pope[47], and the pope was not desirous that either Henry or Charles should achieve the conquest of France, and therefore would not make any hostile declaration against that kingdom[48].

His ulterior purpose Wolsey confined to his own bosom; but he complied zealously with the king's wishes to obtain from Bourbon an oath of homage and submission to him as king of France before he began his expedition. An authority was signed for Pace to take this oath from him[49]; and the cardinal reminded the ambassador that Henry was not bound to advance "one penny" till this was done[50].

revolution or success be happened on the other, his grace would be loth to give such counsel to the duke of Bourbon as should be to his danger.' Harl. MSS. N° 283. p. 60. From this letter I would infer a desire to discourage Bourbon from invading, and a settled determination that Henry should not give an effectual co-operation.

[47] He had desired at the end of February the bishop of Bath to express to the pope, from whom he was soliciting a grant of his legantine power for life, that he had been promised it from 'other popes to whom I was not *so entirely dedicated* as unto his holiness.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 13.

[48] So Bath wrote from Rome, on 25th June: 'The pope is determined to hear what resolution shall be taken between the emperor and the Venetians, before he make any declaration against France. It will be hard to perceive what he will do.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 98. On 12th July, the same prelate reported, 'It is truth that his holiness *ever since* he was pope, at all times hath had very evil opinion and small hope for any good success in the emperor's affairs, and in a manner hath had them always desperate.' MS. ib. p. 132; and see further, notes 75 and 85.

[49] It was the same as had been given the year before to Russell, with the date altered from 5th August 1523 to 7th May 1524. MS. ib. 40.

[50] Wolsey's Letter, ib. p. 60. The pecuniary supplies were a source of dissatisfaction between the Spanish and English government. In one letter, Wolsey states, that Henry and the emperor had agreed to supply the duke with 200,000 crowns. Fidd. App. 142. With another despatch he directed 10,000*l.* to Pace, but with orders not to apply it to Bourbon, unless he proceeded forward, adding, 'I trust verily ye will not see it scattered and spent it vain; an overcautious jealousy of such a man. After mentioning that 20,000*l.* had been a few days before sent to Russell, and that another 10,000*l.* would follow, he reminds his correspondent, that the emperor was to contribute 100,000 crowns on his part, and subjoins this exculpating sentence: 'The emperor's folks make great vaunts and promises for payment of monies, but when it cometh to the point, nothing is observed. For which cause, ye must have special

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In the middle of June the viceroy apprised Henry that while he himself stayed behind to guard Lombardy, Bourbon would in eight days be at the foot of the Alps[51]. Hope again became sanguine. That the king of France passed his time idly in hunting, had been noticed before[52]. The disaffection of the French nation to him was now reported to the duke to be extreme[53]; and the English envoy was so inspired with the animation of "the great and valiant army" around him, as to exclaim, "If ye will not fetch the crown of France, we will bring the same unto you[54]."

On the 16th June the duke began his march; under him the marquis Pescara, whom Pace justly denominates "a great, wise and valiant man," commanded the army. He promised the Englishman that within eight days the whole army would be in Provence; but he and all the captains earnestly ex-

regard hereunto; causing the duke to call for the emperor's money, that the king be not driven off thus always with fair words, and the most burden laid upon him.' Ib. p. 145. With such differences and backwardness on this point, what general could execute rapid and vigorous enterprises?

[51] Lannoy's Letter from Monte Callero, 15th June. MS. ib. p. 75.

[52] So Russell had written from Besançon at the end of February: 'He useth hunting, with other accustomed pastimes, as much as ever he did; and meddleth little or nothing with his counsel; for all the business of the realm passeth only by the hands of Madame la Regente and the grand master of France.' MS. Vitell B. 6. p. 9.

[53] Pace mentions, on 16th June, 'The duke hath lately had word out of France, that the French king is in extreme hatred, universally, throughout his realm, and that his coming is by every man desired. One lord is in readiness to come to him with 4,000 men. In Provence, the best of that land be in readiness to aid him.' MS. ib. p. 78.

[54] MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 78. Altho Wolsey had so decidedly put the English expedition on an unlikely burst of instantaneous success from Bourbon's army, yet on 28th June he ordered Pace to animate the duke to advance, and to assure him that 'a great number of horse and foot should be at Dover by 30th June, so to be transported to Calais.' Harl. MS. N° 283. p. 30.

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pressed their assured hope, that the English forces would incontinently co-operate[55]. On this subject Bourbon besought Henry to consider, that if the French king should perceive that he only was in France, all its power would undoubtedly be converted against him; and he thought the English monarch neither wished, nor could of his honor suffer him to be destroyed, especially when he would show that he would spend his blood like a nobleman for the recovery of the king's right[56]. To make this favorite point certain, Pace solemnly questioned both the viceroy and the duke, and each pledged themselves unhesitatingly to it[57].

Bourbon, being asked by Henry's desire what way the English army should take in France, advised that it should pass by Normandy straight to Paris, as that, like Milan, was easy to be taken, and if captured, all France was conquered[58]. But he was urgent that Henry should invade it immediately. He publicly declared to the ambassador, "that if the king would personally, without delay, enter into France, he will give his grace leave to pluck out both his eyes, if he be not lord of Paris before Allhallow tide; and Paris taken, all the realm of France is his[59]." No words could be more emphatic; but they were repeated to a prime minister's ear that was deter-

[55] Pace's dispatch. MS. Vitell. B. 6. p. 80.

[56] Ib. p. 79.

[57] The English minister asked them, 'Under what title the said duke intendeth to enter France?' He answered, 'Under this title; to recover all that appertaineth rightfully to the king's grace, the emperor, and himself.' The viceroy of Naples said, 'That the said duke should enter France for to crown the king's grace there.' MS. ib. p. 85.

[58] MS. ib. p. 88.

[59] Pace prefaced this strong address with, 'the said duke said unto me;' and adds, 'this was spoken in open audience.' MS. ib. p. 87.

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mined to be deaf, yet whose secret meaning was read by men like himself. The diplomatic prelate of Capua, on his return, crossed the camp of the duke, and put him half in despair of any aid they should have from England "by any manner of means[60];" so all that Pace could do was to say to Bourbon, that the king his master had not sent the archbishop there to render count of his affairs[61]. But this did not satisfy. The viceroy then wrote to Wolsey, that they expected to see Henry invade France with a great force, and hoped he would not lose so fine an opportunity of acquiring his kingdom[62]. Bourbon urged the English ambassador to press again this essential measure[63]. Pace faithfully reported his representations, assured Wolsey of the coinciding feelings of all the army[64], and expressed strongly his own assimilating sentiments[65]. He even poured out his own feelings so freely as to write, "Sir! to speak to you boldly, if ye do not regard the premises, I will impute to your grace the loss of the

[60] Pace states this in his letter of 16th June. MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 92.

[61] Ib.

[62] His letter is in MS. ib. p. 99, dated from Savin, 24th June.

[63] Pace thus reports his words; 'He said unto me, that if the king would put to his hand, and not let slip the great and evident occasion he hath to recover the crown of France, he putteth no doubt by the aid of his intelligence, to expel totally the French king out of France, and to set the crown of that realm upon the king's head as true inheritor thereof; and then *he asked me* eftsoons to write unto the king's highness, and your grace substantially.' MS. ib. p. 101.

[64] 'I do see here also a strong and valiant army, with many wise captains; and every man disposed in the highest manner to serve the king truly as they have offered unto me.' MS. ib. p. 102.

[65] He added, 'I do perceive here by every man's communication, that if the king shall do nothing on that side, having this great aid here, his grace shall lose much reputation, which thing is greatly to be regarded, because he is esteemed universally more able to do great acts in the war than any other Christian prince, and they think him bound to do it at this time quia de re ejus agitur.' MS. ib. p. 103.

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crown of France[66];" a sentence that stung too deeply to be forgotten or forgiven. Wolsey immediately returned a rebuke for its impeaching implication[67], and afterwards persecuted Pace till he became a beggar and a lunatic[68].

While these urgent solicitations for an effectual co-operation were made to the cardinal, he as strenuously instructed the ambassador to obtain from the duke his oaths of homage and fealty to Henry[69], intimating that it would be the condition of an English invasion[70], probably from the belief or hope that Bourbon would not give it at the outset of his expedition; for a direction is expressed to Pace what he should do in case it should be refused[71].

Pace applied to the duke in obedience to these orders, who, with some uneasiness[72], referred him to

[66] He wrote these words in his dispatch of 5th July, from St. Laurens. MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 127.

[67] Wolsey had expressed himself so offended by these words, that Pace, on 26th August, attempted to abate their effect by assuring him, 'the same was by me more merrily spoken than so seriously as your grace doth take it.' MS. ib. p. 179. In his letter of 31st August, Wolsey thus sneers at Pace for his urging the English invasion, 'for the helping whereof ye desire me to lay my cardinal's hat, crosses, maces, and myself in pledge at this time.' Harl. MS. N° 283. p. 48.

[68] Our older writers have mentioned and regretted this result to poor Pace, but did not know that there existed this rankling cause in Wolsey's mind for his vindictive hostility.

[69] Wolsey, on 28th May, wrote 'sticking firmly for two or three days, to conduce the duke to make his said oath, and alleging unto him his former promise made unto you so to do.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 61.

[70] 'Saying also, that if he will excuse it, or defer it to the king's invasion, that he may well perceive and know that the king's grace is determined to invade upon any good successes fortuned upon that side.' MS. ib. p. 61.

[71] 'And at the last, finding no remedy or hope, that he will conform himself to the same; ye shall then say, as of yourself.' MS. ib. p. 61.

[72] Pace, on 16th June, reported, 'when I moved the duke to give his oath and homage to me in the king's behalf; I found him somewhat perplexed, and he made unto me this answer;' 'that he was contented to swear the king's grace, king of France, according to such treaty as was passed between him and sir John Russell.' MS. ib. p. 91.

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the imperial minister de Beaurain[73]. This gentleman at once avowed two causes of hesitation; a suspicion that Wolsey was carrying on a secret correspondence with France[74], and a certainty that it would offend the pope[75]. Bourbon at last assented to it, if it was a while delayed, and privately given[76]; and intimated, that if known, it might cause many of his friends in France to forsake him, as they desired him "to take the crown of France to himself[77]."

Nine days afterwards, the duke, with the approbation of the emperor, professed his willingness to make the oath desired[78], but objected to the homage, as inconsistent with his own free and sovereign tenure of the duchy that was to be retained by himself[79].

[73] Pace, remarking that this treaty was to him unknown; 'then the said duke desired me to speak secretly in this matter with M. de Beaurain alone.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 91.

[74] 'He shewed unto me, that the duke was late put into a great perplexity for two causes; one that he was advertised, that a certain fryar was lately sent into England by the French king's mother, who had secret communication with your grace, which he supposed could not be to his purpose.' MS. ib.

[75] 'Second, it hath been shewed unto him, that the pope's holiness will convert all his power against the king and the emperor, if he make any such oath, or give homage unto the king.' MS. ib. p. 91, 92.

[76] 'Reserving the liberty of his duchy to himself, and the county of Provence.' MS. ib.

[77] MS. ib. p. 92.

[78] On 25th June, Pace stated to Wolsey, from Savilian, 'As soon as I had knowledge by the emperor's orator there, that it was there concluded by the said emperor's authority, that he should swear the king's grace king of France; the duke came to me with a very loving countenance, and said these words to me; 'that he was now no longer lord of his own person, but was bound to obey the king and the emperor to all that they would command him, and offered himself ready so to do: and then said that he would, without any further delay, make an end of the secret matter depending between him and me; desiring that the same might be concluded secretly between himself, the viceroy of Naples, M. Beaurain and me.' MS. ib. p. 100.

[79] 'Hereunto I consented; but when I moved him to do homage, he said that the king by treaty had granted unto him his duchy, and all his lands free, and that when a prince had guaranteed freedom and liberty, he could ask none homage because one is contrary to the other.' MS. ib. p. 100.

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Pace pressed him not to withhold this; but as Bourbon was firm on this point[80], it was given up, and the duke took the oath required in the presence of the viceroy and Beaurain[81]. The ambassador stated this important fact to his government, with his strongest assurances of the duke's probity and sincerity[82], and with a belief that he had no intention to seek the French crown for himself[83]. He advised that Henry should at least go personally to Calais, as the rumor of his being there, altho without an army, would "put the enemy in great fear, and the duke of Bourbon in high comfort[84]." Pace was so earnest in the cause, that as it was possible from the accidents of war, he might not, he said, see his sovereign again, he communicated to Henry himself the preceding incident, and his own sentiments. He assured him, that the peace and truce which the pope was seeking "was full of craft and subtlety, and only meant to dissolve the union between England and the emperor, and to keep the king of France in his realm." He mentioned the efforts still made by Francis to conciliate Bourbon, and declared the pope

[80] 'We had a long conversation, and finally he would condescend to none homage, but to the oath.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 101.

[81] So Pace reported, 'I thought convenient for the furtherance of the enterprize *to take his oath* in the presence of two witnesses, the viceroy of Naples and M. Beaurain; and thus I do take his oath in the most ample manner I could get the same, which your grace shall receive here inclosed, and the same shall be made in form authentic.' MS. ib. p. 101.

[82] 'I do signify to your grace, that I find him a very substantial, wise and virtuous prince, and if I be dissembled herein, I am dissembled with all men which do meddle with him; for all wise men have of him like opinion.' MS. ib. p. 102.

[83] 'I see him utterly determined to serve the king truly and faithfully in the recovery of his crown of France, and not to make any manner of practice to be king himself, nor to suffer any other than save only our king as true inheritor there.' MS. ib. p. 102.

[84] Ib. p. 105.

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to be one of the chief agents that, in counteraction to Henry and the emperor, were striving to produce this result[85].

The duke began his campaign with twenty thousand foot, one thousand men at arms, and one thousand eight hundred light cavalry, besides four thousand men sent by sea[86]. His plan was to enter France by the side of Provence, because it abounded with provisions, and he meant to march by the sea coast, to be assisted from his shipping; there were but two fortifications in that district; the castle of Moneca and the city of Marseilles, of which the first had offered to surrender, provided no Spaniard was introduced[87]. His purpose was to advance either on Lyons or Marseilles, and to fight as soon as he could bring his opponents to battle. On the 27th June he was at Burgos, at the foot of the Alps[88], and on 1st July had entered France over the Var, which divided it from Italy, at St. Laurens in Provence, where he waited for the men at arms and lansquenets, which the viceroy was to have sent after him[89]. From his conciliating conduct the people began there to come unto him,

[85] 'The pope is one procurer hereof.'—'I do know certain powers in Italy that would not have the emperor greater than he is; and they would gladly dissolve this knot of love between your highness and said emperor; and this is sought under color of a truce, fearing lest if this amity between you twain, shall be inviolably observed and kept, all christendom shall be under your government. I do plainly know this to be true.' Letter to Henry, of 25th June. MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 107–110.

[86] Pace's letter, 25th June. MS. ib. 100.

[87] Pace. MS. ib. p. 85. 'This is a thing of high importance; for the castle is impregnable, and might have been a great impediment.' ib.

[88] MS. ib p. 117.

[89] Pace, 5th July, p. 123, and Bath, 12th July, p. 132. Pace says of the Alps, he had passed in this part 'mountains the highest and most terrible that I have seen in Christendom. The duke hath concluded to depart hence to-morrow.' MS. ib. 123.

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and brought provisions[90]. He made a solemn asse- CHAP. XII.
veration again, before his private friends, of his fidelity to Henry, whom he then called "our common master[91]." He secured Nice from a surprise by the French[92], and being detained still for his cavalry over the mountains, wrote from thence, on 16th July, to Henry, a confidential assurance of his determination to fulfil the engagements he had made to him[93].

But here those machinations began to assail him with which this extraordinary man had to struggle, in addition to the herculean difficulty of attempting the conquest of the French crown with only twenty-three thousand men. Either from that proud feeling of Spanish honor which made the grandee at Madrid, at whose palace the emperor afterwards lodged him, declare that he would burn it to the ground when Bourbon quitted it, because he was a traitor to his king; or from the base envy of his superior military abilities, the viceroy detained, or would not forward, the men at arms, or heavy cavalry, who were essential to the duke's advance[94]. Above sixteen days he

[90] MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 123.

[91] Pace, on 5th July, thus describes it: 'He called me to him in the presence of the sieur de Popevins, and three other gentlemen of France, such as he doth most trust; and he in a very serious manner desired me to mark diligently what he would say, and to write the same to the king my master and your grace. His words formally were these: "I promise unto you, upon my faith, I will, by the help of my friends, put the crown of France upon the king's, *our common master's* head, or else my life shall be cut off."' MS. ib. p. 126, 7.

[92] MS. ib. p. 117.

[93] The reader may desire to read the duke's own words to the king. 'St. Laurens, 16th July. I humbly thank you for the good news that we have this day received from your hand, dated 28th June; and as to this affair, I would not, for dying, fail you in what I have promised The desire which I have to do you service, and to aid you with my power to recover the right you have to the kingdom of France at the expence of my life.' Orig. Lett. MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 139.

[94] Pace. MS. ib. 123. The wilful conduct of the viceroy on this

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was kept by this insidious conduct at St. Laurens, when the season for operations was fast passing away.

At last the duke was enabled to move, and on 20th July, passing Grasse to Fayence, they reached Draguignan the next day[95]. Their object now was to attack Marseilles, which the Spaniards thought they could capture[96]; but they suffered greatly as they marched, from the want of food, as the French caused all the country to withdraw their victuals, and to abandon that frontier[97]. Bourbon had relied on two things; a supply of money from England[98], and of his provisions from the fleet that was to accompany him[99]; but Wolsey, without sending any English ship to his aid, allowed France to operate against him with a superior navy[100]; a navy from which

occasion was so obvious that it became known at Rome, and was thus mentioned, on 12th of July, by the bishop there. 'The viceroy is very negligent in sending forth such things as is necessary for the said army, so that the duke and others complain greatly of him, and specially that thro his negligence the lance knights came no quicker forward, who, for lack of their pay, was stayed in the confines of Italy. MS. Vit. B. 6. 132.

[96] Pace, letter 20th July. MS. ib. 145. 'We take all the country as we go, without resistance.' ib.

[96] 'The Spaniards say they know the city of Marseilles, and that they put no doubt in the expugnation of the same; but the duke and the marquis Piscara will not attempt this enterprise without great deliberation; for we should lose great reputation if we should assault that, and not take it.' MS. ib. 146.

[97] We learn this from the bishop of Bath's letter, who adds, 'so that the army is in very evil case.' MS. ib. p. 182.

[98] Pace wrote 9th July, 'the duke hoped to have had his money at his entry into France, where he hath been now eight days, and taken two good towns.' MS. ib. 129.

[99] 'An army by sea was ordered to have kept the coast, and from time to time to have victualled the army.' Bath, ib. p. 132.

[100] Wolsey, in his letter of 7th August, expresses that he had 'taken no small delight and pleasure to hear that the duke in his own person so actively and valiantly acquitted himself at the conflict between the armies on the sea, by whose virtues and good conduct not only his artillery was delivered from the peril it was in, but also the ships saved,

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Bourbon's personal bravery had with difficulty rescued his artillery, and which, when reinforced, attacked and repulsed the vessels on which the duke had relied [101], a disheartening event, as it cut off their supplies [102]; and as to the money, though it was conveyed to Antwerp for him [103], it was so managed that it never reached him when he most wanted it; yet to allure him to plunge into his expedition, the cardinal, after directing Pace to exhort the duke to set forward his army, and lose no time, declared to him, that by the last day of June, "a good number of horsemen and footmen shall be at Dover, to be transported to Calais, till such time as the king's grace, upon good opportunity, shall be ready to pass with his army, for which purpose all preparations requisite be made [104]." But all this was deception and disappointment; and as Wolsey had the power of effecting what he promised, it must have been written with an attention to delude both his sovereign and the duke.

The French government, besides guarding Marseilles by a superior fleet, assembled fourteen thou-

and the enemy repulsed, to the said duke's great honor, laud and praise.' He adds, 'Ye shall, on the *king's and my* behalf, desire him to have special regard to the security of his own person. *The king and I*, for the tender love *we* have to the said duke, should take in no small regret any adverse chance to his own person.' Harl. MSS. N° 283. p. 56.

[101] Bath's letter mentions: 'But the French king has sent another army by sea of more number to encounter ours.' MS. Vitel. B. 6. p. 132. Pace, on 9th July, reports a 'great conflict at sea. They fought four hours a bloody conflict.' MS. ib. p. 128.

[102] 'At our arrival at Provence we perceived evidently that without an army on the sea, we could have neither the victuals, nor our artillery nor money sent from Genoa, securely conveyed to us.' MS. ib. 176.

[103] So Wolsey declares in his letter of 28th June. MS. ib. 176.

[104] Lett. ib. 113. So on the money he says, 'Ye may put the duke in assured comfort that new furniture for the party of his grace shall come in time.' ib. 115.

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sand infantry, and twelve hundred men at arms[105], to lay waste the country, and to watch, but not to fight the invaders. The duke marched straight forward to attack this force. It retired to Avignon as he came on, and then divided into several towns to avoid the conflict. He possessed himself of Aix, the chief and richest city of that region, but it did not afford the relief he expected, because the French had conveyed away the wealthiest inhabitants, as they did from every town he approached. Francis was at Lyons, but unwell[106]. He spread reports that his army should re-assemble and fight his enemies, and the hope of this led the duke to encamp his army in the open fields to tempt them, and to lose seven days in waiting for their approach. The French government, finding themselves attacked on no other quarter, directed all their skill and energies on the duke, but resolved to counteract him by the only sure way of repelling a formidable invader, by continual alarms and by keeping from him all supplies[107].

This plan by land, and their fleet preventing all communication by sea, compelled him, both for subsistence and safety, to lay siege to Marseilles. He had been early assured that it might be taken with comparative facility[108], but he turned at first from the delay of a siege to larger objects[109]. Now, however,

[105] Pace, MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 134.

[106] Pace Lett. 21st August, 'He lay sick there of his own French disease.' MS. ib. 193.

[107] Pace, ib.

[108] 'It is not so strong, but it may be taken, as the duke of Bourbon is certified by three or four saddle gentlemen, expert in the war.' Pace, 2d July. MS. ib. 122.

[109] On 26th August Pace wrote, 'The said duke had promised me that he would take the straight way as soon as lay in his power, and to strike battle, if he might, for the same purpose, to the city of Rheims, there for to crown the king.' MS. ib. p. 171.

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when he saw himself abandoned to his own resources, no fleet assisting him, and no co-operation dividing his enemies attention; when his own friend the viceroy had injured his campaign[110], he was "brought to it by necessity more than by will, as to a thing both difficil and jeopardous[111]." The best Spanish captains were sent to view it, and "they reported that it was a strong town and well repaired, and a weighty thing to attempt; nevertheless, if they were commanded to set upon the same, they would do their duties."

A military council was held on this communication, and after some debate, the duke, and the marquis Pescara, resolved to examine it themselves. On 14th August they set off at midnight, with two thousand soldiers; at dawn deliberately reconnoitred it, and marked all its peculiarities. On their return, they stated that it presented "no small difficulties, yet when they considered that the French did fly battle, and that they could nothing do to no purpose without taking it, they had concluded upon the enterprise, in hope that the French king would come to its succor, and that, in that case, they might strike battle[112]." On this decision the siege was undertaken[113]. He

[110] Pace on the same day mentioned, 'If the viceroy had not kept from us our men at arms so long as he hath done, contrary to the emperor's commission and his own promises, we had assuredly been at such a place at this time as the king would have been well contented with all. The said viceroy's shameful acts, I trust your grace would hear from bishop of Bath, from Rome, where also master Pasquil doth make verses against him.' MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 172.

[111] Pace, 31st July. MS. p. 193.

[112] Pace, MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 193.

[113] This official and authentic detail proves, that the common historical account, that the duke was forced by the emperor to besiege Marseilles against his judgment, has no just foundation. He had himself decided to enter France by the way of Provence, for the reasons before mentioned from Pace's letter, p. 358, note 87.

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environed it with his army on 19th August; and to repel the French gallies that formed on the sea side to defend it, he planted two guns upon a hill, which dispersed the annoying fleet[114].

He prosecuted the siege with all his skill and vigor, and on the 19th September wrote to Wolsey his hopes that he should take it in eight or ten days more, but pressed earnestly to be assisted at least by money[115]. He declared to Pace, that he "would not have come thither without promises from the emperor of further aid and hope of the king of England for their common profit[116]." He felt that he was on all sides forsaken and sacrificed. Pace imputed the viceroy's conduct to a base arrogance and envy[117]; and even the pope could see and say that the English army might have done what it pleased in France, and ought to have gone there before; and if such an invasion were withheld, yet at least that the whole attention of Henry's government ought to have been given to the maintenance of the duke's army in Provence[118]. The expediency of this reasoning was so palpable, that neither Bourbon nor the emperor could put any confidence in Wolsey again, nor in Henry, while he subjected his mind to such a double-dealing counsellor. The pontiff did not expect Marseilles to be taken, because it "was daily,

[114] Pace, MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 194.

[115] In this original letter from Marseilles, 19th September, he styles Wolsey, 'Mon tres bon cousin et père.' 'Je vous prié tant qu'il m'est possible qu'il soit votre plaisir de nous secourir d'argent.' MS. ib. 201.

[116] Lett. 26th Aug. MS. ib. p. 172.

[117] 'It appeareth by his acts to the wisest men of this army, that he seeketh the ruin of the duke of Bourbon, because he would have no superior but the emperor.' MS. ib.

[118] B. Bath's Lett. from Rome, of 2d October. MS. ib. p. 203.

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and might at all times be succored by sea with men and victuals [119]." The English ambassador had foreseen this, and apprized Wolsey of the necessity of a fleet [120]. This never came; yet Bourbon was obliged to try the siege, because, as Pace described, "this city lieth so, that the army without the taking thereof cannot commodiously either pass forward, nor keep what they have gotten behind them [121]." Francis had sent the experienced Rencé with two hundred cavalry and three thousand foot to defend it; and he so judicially strengthened its fortifications, and repaired them as they were injured, that all the exertions of the imperialists were repeatedly baffled [122].

While the duke was thus faithfully exerting all the energies of his character to fulfil his engagements as effectually as the obstacles that were suffered to accumulate against him allowed, the English cabinet, instead of acting, was still debating in the middle of September what forces should be sent into France to support his operations. The count de Buren's advising letter to Henry appears to give so much just counsel and sound reasoning, that it must have been a wilful determination in the government which chose to disregard it [123].

[119] B. Bath's Lett. from Rome, of 2d. Oct. MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 203.

[120] 'We have need of an army by the sea for the taking of Marseilles, which will be defended both by sea and land.' MS. ib. p. 176.

[121] MS. ib. p. 193. [122] M. Bellay, 347.

[123] This letter is dated 11th September 1524. 'As to my opinion, under the correction of your majesty, I think we have too few troops; for we shall have to abide a battle, as well as M. Bourbon, and ours will be small and poor, for we shall be only 12 or 13,000 foot, and 700 men at arms, including yours.

'We may expect that the king of France will send his army against us, and they will get more reputation in beating your army and the emperor's than that of the duke. Therefore I humbly intreat that you will order your forces on such a footing as to leave no fear of shame, for

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Bourbon, deserted, when he ought to have been effectively assisted, and left to his own unaided efforts, resolved to make one great exertion to gain Marseilles, and if it failed, to raise the siege, and march intrepidly forward to seek his enemy in the field, and to take the chance of what might follow upon a vigorous and unshrinking activity. On the 24th September he brought all his battering guns to bear on one selected space of the wall, till as much of it fell down in ruins as to admit twenty men abreast. The duke then prepared to storm it. But the spies sent to explore, saw such ditches, trenches, counterwalls, bulwarks and other works, made within the breach, that his army objected to the attack, as it was impossible to make it without the certain loss of a vast number of men, and with a dubious result. This opposition, and the vicinity of the French army under the active Chabannes, waiting to take advantage of any disorder, determined the leaders, after a council of war, to abandon the attempt, and to evacuate France. On the 27th September at night, they shipped their artillery for Monaco, and began their retreat with such rapidity as to march twenty

if you do not beat the enemy this campaign, you will find it a very different affair at any other time.

'For this end, you ought to have here 10,000 of your subjects, besides pioneers, carpenters, smiths and artillery, and also 1,000 of your cavalry; and you should have 2,000 German cavalry from Cleves, and 4,000 German foot, which, with our 3,000 horse, and 1,000 Almains, will make together 5,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, and these, with your majesty's 10,000, will amount to 15,000 foot and 6,000 horse.

'You must consider, that we must have plenty of cavalry; we shall want every day to convey victuals by force, and to make excursions for forage, and to watch and patrol both day and night; and to make expeditions against our foes, to give his gensd'armes enough to do; and wherever we find towns to be kept, we must leave some people in them. Besides, if we come to a battle, he that has most cavalry, has the finest chance.' MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 122.

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miles, without resting, over the mountains, by a new but " very hard, narrow and sharp way," till they came to Nice [124]. When Bourbon on raising the siege, desired to pursue his enterprise, and force the French king to a battle, his troops again mutinied for want of pay, and peremptorily insisted on his retrogression [125]. Thus ended all hope of transferring the crown of France to the head of Henry VIII.—a desirable issue, by which both nations were equally benefitted, but which seems to have been not honestly occasioned by the directors of the English cabinet. We cannot ascribe the treachery to Henry, because the prospect of the French throne must have made him earnest to favor Bourbon. It must have been by false and wily representations or procedure, that Wolsey coerced his master's wishes, and withheld the co-operations that would have promoted their completion. Francis, released from all domestic danger, and having the army ready which he had raised against the invaders, resolved to profit by their temporary exultation, and by the disasters of his adversaries, to regain his ascendancy over the plains of Lombardy. As winter was advancing, he was advised to forbear; but hoping to cut off Bourbon's retreat, he listened to no dissuasion, and marched his troops over the Alps, contending with Bourbon

[124] Bp. Bath's Lett. of 16th October. MS. Vit. B. 6. p. 208.

[125] Bath. MS. ib. p. 208. Bourbon had told Russell, on 19th September, that he was resolved, 'if they could not shortly take Marseilles, he would levy the camp, and march towards the French army.' Lett. 10th October, MS. ib. p. 211. Dr. Knight's despatch of 20th October, from Brussels, states, that the troops *refused* to give the assault; that he then required them to go and seek their enemies, but that they would not obey him, because it would leave Marseilles at their back, with its men of war, and their provisions would be kept from them by the French force. MS. Gal. B. 1. p. 128.

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and Pescara which would be the swiftest to reach the long-contested Milanese[126]. The duke, however, could not forbear casting a longing and lingering eye on his unwillingly-forsaken country; and notwithstanding his preceding disappointments, on 22d October actually commissioned an agent to state, that if the English government would furnish him with two hundred thousand crowns, he would invade France between the frontiers of Lorraine and the end of Burgundy, and without passing rivers would go straight to Paris; or if the king preferred any other way, would lead an army from Normandy, or from any other point that he would dictate[127]. It is surprising that he should have supposed, that the minister who had frustrated his more feasible plans would give the smallest sanction to this enthusiastic proposition. He was grieved that it was disregarded, because neither he nor Wolsey then knew that its rejection would occasion the most illustrious destiny that his vengeance could desire to descend within four months upon him, to secure to his name an everlasting reputation[128].

[126] Bellay, 348–352. The imperial army used their legs so well as to assemble at Alexandria, in 20th October, in number 17,000 foot, besides the ordinary horse of Naples, and expecting 10,000 Germans. Pace assured his government, that it was universally suspected, and especially by the emperor's agents, that it was the pope, in some connivance with the viceroy, who had brought the French king into Italy. Lett. from Brixin, of 22d Oct. MS. Gal. B. 8. p. 215.

[127] See his paper of instructions to M. Chasteau, dated Pavia, 22d October 1524, signed by himself and de Croy, in MS. ib. p. 217.

[128] Wolsey's letter, of 31st August, shows, like his others, how little he meant Henry to assist Bourbon by a simultaneous expedition. 'I suppose they would dissuade the same, unless such a notable victory, with a great revolution in France, should ensue, that the king might *facilly, without any resistance*, attain his said crown.' Harl. MSS. No. 283. p. 49. The cardinal could not have believed that an unsupported invasion of 25,000 men, all foreigners, in behalf of its national enemies,

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But a remarkable destination of events, a singular combination of animating and mortifying circumstances, pursued this distinguished nobleman's resenting career. He never acted but to make his enemies flee before him, whenever walls were not their shelter; he obtained the triumph of every martial field in which he commanded; and yet personal disappointment in every bosom wish and most elaborate project followed, like its chilling shadow, close upon every success. His flowers of hope, when he seemed to have planted their stem most permanently, withered in their bud as he advanced to pluck them. Others intercepted or reaped the golden harvests that were springing up from his great victories. He lived to conquer those who doubted, neglected, undervalued or forsook him, without deriving to himself either solid advantage or unclouded reputation; and the wealth, rank, duchies, royal bride, principality and even kingdom, which not only his imagination regaled itself in anticipating, but which solemn promises and treaties had secured to him, successively vanished from his enjoyment when he had earned and won, and most justly expected them.

The last four years of his life passed to him like

could have so immediately subverted the government of France, as that Henry might 'facilly, and without any resistance,' have walked into it and taken its crown. The idea of such an event was too extravagant for a mind of his experience to have really entertained. The same letter shows us how Wolsey managed his measures in the cabinet. He first settled them alone with the king, and then submitted them to the council of his colleagues, when he had left nothing but acquiescence to their choice. Thus he tells Pace; 'All which matters by the king's highness and me *first apart*; and *after*, with the most sad and discreet lords of his council, substantially digested, it hath been finally determined,' &c. Harl. MSS. ib. p. 49.

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BOOK I.

an agitated dream of these striking vicissitudes; evincing so much commanding ability and noble qualities, that we cannot, as we observe what he achieved, avoid commiserating the delusion of angry passion which threw him from the bosom of that country he might have honored and benefited, into the disgraceful position of confederating with its enemies to attack it. There was a greatness, a strength, an energy, and in other respects a virtuousness in his mind; such a superiority over most of his contemporaries, that it is as surprising as it is lamentable, that it could have been induced to put itself into a predicament that must produce to him both censure and infelicity; but the witchcraft of tempting crime is one of those mysteries of our intellectual nature, which no reasoning has explained. Whoever has felt the influence in himself, or heard it faithfully described by others, knows that it comes with an urging delusion of the judgment, which usually overpowers the weak; and has often made the wisest do what, a short time before and for ever afterwards, they most abhor, and to which they are not unreasonably astonished they should ever have surrendered. While the interior solicitation lasts, nature, thought, society and life, assume new aspects, and ourselves incline to a new character. We see nothing but what suits the guilty purpose that strives to master us. We like nothing while it influences, but what favors its gratification; and when it has subdued us, or has been driven defeated from our frame, we feel like men awaking from an unnatural delirium, or emerging from the scenery of a foreign land; wondering, that for any moment we could have felt and rea-

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soned, hesitated or acted, so unlike all that we most esteem, all that we have sincerely been, and all the great or good tendencies which we have habitually or resolutely cultivated. The foulest crimes, murder, robbery, fraud, adultery, perjury, treason and impiety, have thus been perpetrated by persons who anterior to the sudden hour of that inexplicable seduction, were of great honor and worth; because when the trial came, their moral principles had no stable root; or egotism and presumption had withered their strength, and bowed down their branches from the skies they were seeking, to the fatal agencies and poisons that corroded and destroyed them. Revenge and pride were the evil demons that thus came with their disastrous visit to the prince of Bourbon's mind. He gave them a reception which made them his bosom inmates; and they never left him during a life of consequential suffering and disappointment, till a death of violence, in the bloom of manhood, extinguished, in a desperate moment, and on a questionable enterprise, all earthly sensibility in his long-mortified, inflamed, determined, and yet foreboding spirit.

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CHAP. XIII.

FRANCIS ENTERS ITALY, BESIEGES PAVIA, AND SENDS THE DUKE OF ALBANY TOWARDS NAPLES—CONFERENCES OF ENGLISH AMBASSADORS WITH THE POPE—BOURBON ATTACKS THE CAMP OF THE FRENCH KING—THE DECIDING BATTLE OF PAVIA.

BOOK I

ALTHO the blindness of man as to the future of this world, and the dark destiny that often awaits him, as it evolves, were favorite themes with the Grecian dramatists; have been sung with impressive genius by the lyric and elegiac poets of the Augustan court; and have been popular subjects of the moral eloquence of all ages; yet hope and ambition hear and admit the unquestionable truths, without abating their pursuit of the distant idols they admire, and without being deterred from daring all the chances of the calamities that impassioned enterprise usually occasions. A Juvenal may expatiate, with the fervid poetry of a spirit half inspired, on the vanity and frequent injuriousness of our darling wishes and most coveted pursuits; and history may illustrate the recollection by her dejecting vicissitudes; and yet who, anterior to his own painful experience, will believe that his personal disappointment will add another comment to the unwelcome admonition? and therefore forbear the voyage that will produce the shipwreck? Neither the king of France, nor his defying subject the duke of Bourbon, could be con-

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tent to cultivate the happiness which each was possessing; and both reaped misery from their turbulence, in the Italian peninsula; the one, in the form of disgrace the most poignant, as seeking to gratify a fantastic ambition; and the other, about two years afterwards, in a premature, violent and unlamented death, the slave and victim of mortified pride and discreditable revenge.

That he should intercept the duke of Bourbon, and overrun the Milanese before the emperor could succor it, was the belief of Francis. His heart was in his hope, and he eagerly pressed his sympathizing troops over those Alpine frontiers, which had now been so often passed. These mountains, which cost Hannibal half his army to cross, were surmounted in a few days with inconsiderable loss. He might have overtaken the suffering and mutinous army of the duke, if the latter had not found the Durance unexpectedly fordable[1], and passed, by this favoring accident, out of the reach of his pursuers, whom Montmorency was leading[2]. That Francis should proceed to an invasion of Italy was against the sentiments of Tremouille, his wisest general, and of others[3], who stated the disadvantages of a winter campaign. But it was recommended by Bonnivet[4], whom Bourbon had driven out of it; and specious reasons seemed to make it eligible[5]. Francis adopted the opinion

[1] The Memoirs of Tremouille remark, that he passed it 'a gue par miracle, ce qu'en n'avoit oncques veu.' V. 14. p. 227.

[2] M. Bellay. 17. p. 348.

[3] Belleforest notices Chabannes and d'Aubigny, as opposing the expedition. p. 1438.

[4] Belleforest. ib.

[5] One of these was, that he had a large army of military adventurers, especially of Italians, who had greatly injured his kingdom, who would

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that was most congenial with his own ardent expectations; wrote to his mother, Louisa, that he "had, of his own mind, determined to proceed[6]," and hurried over the icy summits of Mount Cenis, while the duke was traversing thro the lower roads to Alba, with a simultaneous expedition[7]. That the French king resolved on the enterprise more from passion than judgment, has been the imputation of many; but ultimate results are often the effects of contingencies, that cannot be calculated beforehand; and Francis may claim to be judged rather by the first consequences of his movement, which was successful to his highest expectations, than by the disasters which occurred, not so much from the expedition itself as from difficulties and incidents that intervened after its main object had been accomplished. Contemplating the circumstances with that impartiality which distance of time produces in the historical reader, we may suggest that, if it be wise in war to prosecute its objects while the invader is in full strength, and his opponents in a state of debility, the French king, and they who advised it, were right in urging his immediate advance. It gave him the Milanese

do it more damage the longer they were kept in it, and whom it was therefore necessary to employ elsewhere. Other reasons were, that his army was in a fine condition, that his gendarmerie desired to go, and that his presence would give them heart and courage. Mem. Tremouille, p. 227.

[6] Sir Thomas More mentions, that Francis thus wrote and boasted to his mother. See his letter, MS. Galba. B. 8. p. 213. Guicciardini remarks, that he said to his captains, 'I am resolved, without delay, to go personally into Italy, and whoever would counsel me to the contrary, shall not only not be listened to by me, but do a thing that will much displease me.' L. 15. v. 6. p. 82.

[7] Guicciard. p. 83. In the same day that Francis reached Vercelli, Pescara, with the horse and Spanish infantry, got to Alba; and Bourbon, next day, with the rest. ib.

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without a blow; and this instantaneous success was the best testimony of the judgment which recommended it. It is a different question, whether the measures taken to preserve the conquest were as wise as the expedition to obtain it. It is one thing to gain the contested prize, and another to do what will most securely keep it. These are distinct ends, which require each its peculiar means; and by a sound, discriminating mind, will never be confounded.

The imperial troops under the viceroy had been stationed at Osti. As the advanced guard of the French descended the Alps, he fell back to Alexandria; and leaving there two thousand men to delay the king's progress, withdrew to Pavia. But Francis, not pausing at any minor object, marched on to Milan without stopping. The viceroy desired Pescara and Bourbon to join him immediately. They hastened with their shattered and exhausted troops; and, as they arrived, placing in Pavia six thousand of these, chiefly Germans, and twelve hundred Spaniards, under the active Antonio de Leyva, to defend the fortifications, the viceroy retreated with celerity to Milan[8], to reach this city before the French. Francis, from Vigeva, sent onwards, by forced marches, the Marquis Saluzze with a strong corps, who drove the Spaniards from its out villages; and being supported by another body under Tremouille, presented a force so formidable, that the viceroy, perceiving the ramparts to be too much ruined to defend against him, retired with Bourbon and Pescara to Lodi[9], and left the often contested Milan to

[8] M. Bellay, 851. Guicciard. 84-6.

[9] Bellay, 352.

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Tremouille. By this general, on the last day of October 1525, Francis took possession[10] of the reward and aim of his bold enterprise, rapid movements and persevering resolution.

The French king consulted immediately on his next operation. He had two patterns before him of the duke of Bourbon's conduct in the preceding summer, and their results, to guide both him and his officers. By pressing onwards in a continued pursuit, Bourbon had driven the French out of Italy; by the unavailing siege of Marseilles, he had lost all the benefit of the preceding success. With these instructive experiments before them, the council of war, deliberated before Francis. To pursue unremittingly the imperialists was the advice of some. To besiege Pavia, because its capture would ensure the reduction of the rest of the duchy, was the advice of others. If the forward movement had been adopted, the emperor's army would have been ruined. The soldiers from Provence were so debilitated by hardships, want, and their rapid retreat, that they threw away their arms into the ditches from mere feebleness, as they fell back before Francis. They were too weak to have defended Lodi, and even Cremona might have been forced from them[11]. But these facts were not known in the French camp at the hour of consultation. Pavia was expected to be an easy capture by an army so fresh, spirited and well provided; and even Bonnivet, who had felt in person the effects of Bourbon's vigorous chase in the country where he was deliberating, and had been himself baffled by

[10] Mem. Tremouille. p. 228. The imperialists retired into the castle.
[11] Bellay, 354.

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the walls of Milan, advised the siege in preference to the pursuit. Francis therefore acquiesced in this decision, and marching to Biagrassa, proceeded thence to Pavia, and about 28th October lodged his advanced guard under Chabannes, near its castle, on the left of the Ticino; planted himself with his main body at the abbey of Lanfranc, and sent Montmorency over the river to take his station on an islet, at St. Antony's. This nobleman, forcing a tower at its bridge, disgraced his name and cause by a cruelty as heartless as it was unprincipled and unnecessary[12].

This siege has been censured by those who judge of it by its consequences. But we have the pope's word, that the town holding out so long was both "contrary to all reason and to every wise man's opinion[13]." Nor did the precedent of Marseilles correctly apply; for that city protracted its defence, because it was supplied and aided by a superior fleet at sea, which was a benefit that the inland Pavia could not enjoy. It was the personal ability of Leyva which prevented its capture. The lesson which the French engineers had given the Spaniards at Marseilles was now repeated by them against their instructors; and therefore, when the French on their first batteries had made a breach sufficient to induce them to attempt an assault, the troops, as they mounted on the vacancy, saw, as Bourbon's had found at Marseilles, such wide and deep trenches, well flanked, made

[12] Having taken the tower, the duke '*hung* those whom he found within it for having been so *outrageous* as to have desired to keep such a hen coop against a French army.' Bell. 355; that is, for having faithfully tried to defend what it was their military duty to preserve; and which, without mutiny against their officers, the little garrison could not abandon!!

[13] B. Bath's letter from Rome, of 7th January. MS. Vitel. B. 7. p. 7.

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suddenly behind the ruins, and the houses near them so pierced with holes for the secret shots of the hidden arquebussiers, that, tho the soldiers gained the breach, they perceived it to be impossible to get beyond it. They fought enough on their ascent to show their own courage, and to fall victims to their orders and bravery; but while the best of the gendarmerie were dismounting to follow them, the king was apprized of the impracticability of the attack, and withdrew the unshrinking but diminishing assailants[14]. A plan of diverting the river, and of entering by its empty channel, (an operation by which Cyrus took the famous Babylon) was then adopted; but before the new beds for the stream could be completed, heavy rains so swelled the waters that they carried away all the expensive works that were erected, and with them all hope of executing the plausible project[15].

It remained then for him to abandon the attempt, or to reduce it by the result of a patient and vigilant blockade, precluding all supplies, harassing the garrison, and starving it into surrender. But time and perseverance only could obtain this expected benefit, and as Francis was projecting to pass on from Pavia to Naples[16], he saw no impediment to attempt the conquest of the latter while he was beleaguering the former. The duke of Albany was therefore detached

[14] Bellay, 355–7. Paradin remarks, that even the women of the besieged labored at the works for their defence. The countess Malespina headed them, carrying on her shoulders baskets of earth to the ramparts, and exhorting her sex to do as she did. Hist. notre temps. p. 117.

[15] Bellay, 357–8. Tremouille, 229.

[16] Guicciard. L. 15. p. 93.

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with a corps of five thousand men, to march into the south [17].

The rapid advantages of the French disposed the viceroy to listen to the proposals of the pope for a pacific arrangement, on the plan that the Adda should divide Lombardy between the two great combatants [18]; but Francis would agree to no terms short of an entire evacuation of Lombardy by the imperialists [19]; and Clement had then the high opinion of the established ascendancy of the French power, that abandoning all military confederation with the emperor, he made his peace with the French king, and invited him to pursue his expedition against Naples [20].

As Albany marched towards the Appenines, the viceroy and Pescara moved over the Po at Cremona to arrest his course. A strong reinforcement was dispatched to counteract them [21], and the two forces were on the point of a fierce conflict. But the imperials disheartened by former sufferings, had resolved not to fight upon any doubtful chance; and finding their succors so large as to remove the certainty of an assured victory, they retraced their steps, and stationed themselves at Lodi [22]. On their retreat, the French reinforcement rejoined Francis,

[17] Guicc. 93. Bell.

[18] Bellay, p. 358. [19] Ib.

[20] Ib. p. 359. To raise money to keep his garrison from mutinying, Leyva took all the silver shrine and utensils that he found in the churches of Pavia, and coined it, vowing to the saints to replace them by richer ones, if he preserved the city. When reminded of his vow, after the defeat of the French, he chose to reply, that he made it for the emperor, and left him to perform it. Brantome, 4. p. 147.

[21] Guicciard. L. 15. p. 101. Bellay.

[22] Dispatch of bishop Clark from Rome, of 7th Jan. 1525. MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 7.

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while Albany proceeded to Lucca, where he levied a contribution of twenty thousand ducats, and approached the confines of Florence [23].

The duke of Bourbon, perceiving the imperial armies then in Italy to be insufficient to resist the French forces, raised some money on the jewels which the duchess of Savoy had given him [24]; and leaving the peninsula, crossed the Tyrolese mountains to Vienna, to solicit Ferdinand the archduke of Austria, and brother of the emperor, for a body of German auxiliaries. He was received with honor and heard with favor. Two thousand lansquenets and three hundred horse, raised at the archduke's expence, accompanied him back to Trent; and he was assured that a larger number should speedily follow him [25]. Awaiting their arrival, he informed Henry in the beginning of the new year, that he purposed to defend Alexandria, Cassano, Cremona, Lodi and Pavia. He repelled with indignation the French vaunt, that he had been driven disgracefully from Provence [26]. He had not retreated by his own will. He had no fear of the French king [27]. Those who had

[23] Dispatch of bishop Clark from Rome, of 7th January 1525. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 7.

[24] Bell. 358. Bellay says, that Clement 7th, 'depecha le seigneur Matthee son Dattaire pour confirmer la dite alliance, et *persuader* le roi de faire l'enterprise de Naples.' 359. This is not the only instance in which political ecclesiastics have ruined states and statesmen.

[25] Bourbon states these facts in his original letter to Henry, in the British Museum. MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 4. It is dated from Trent, 5th Jan 1525. He says of Ferdinand, 'I have been to M. L'Archduc, to show him the affairs of the emperor and yours. I found him in such a good disposition, that no better could be wished, even to the exposing of his own person.' ib.

[26] This seems to have greatly nettled him, for he exclaims, 'I have learned that the French say, that I retired *honteusement* out of Provence. I stayed there three months and eight days, awaiting battle, for I desired nothing else.' MS. ib. p. 4.

[27] 'I have no fear of him; for if by the divine pleasure we should be

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followed him had gained but little honor, and he was projecting at that very moment to make that little less[28]. He assured Henry that there never had been, and that he would not again have, so good a time for making a descent on France as at that hour, when its sovereign and chief nobility were out of it. If he invaded now he would find no resistance to his attack[29]. CHAP. XIII.

The French king continued to press the siege, but without capturing the city. He took every care to supply the troops with provisions, to pay his stipendiaries, and to maintain an exact police. If money or food ever fell short, he consoled his gendarmerie, and shewed them that they endured no privations which he did not share. If any became sick he visited them, and caused every medical attention to be promptly and carefully applied[30]. The protraction of Pavia's defence did not lessen his reputation in the papal or Italian mind. The new year opened with a general belief that his power was paramount, and that the emperor had no prospect of success. Hence, when the English ambassador, on receiving Wolsey's directions to move the pope to lean firmly and steadfastly to Henry and the emperor, and to advance their common concerns, sought a conference to discharge this commission, the pontiff made no hesitation to avow his opinion, that the French king's affairs were highly prosperous,

near each other, we shall hardly separate without a battle, and I will then so do, that neither he, or they who have spoken of me, about Provence, shall be able to say that I am afraid to find myself there; and if there be any man on earth who would make such a charge against me, I will answer it with my person to his.' MS. Lett. ib.

[28] Lett. ib. [29] Lett. ib.

[30] Mem de Tremouille, p. 230.

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and the emperor's as desperate, and in Lombardy were lapsing into total ruin[31]. He reproved the bishop for not truly representing this fact to his court[32], and declared, that from the time Francis entered Italy, there had been no probability of success to the emperor, which would have become manifest before, if Pavia, "contrary to every wise man's opinion," had not held out so long[33]. He described the French king as "highly strong and puissant, and no man able to encounter with him[34]; and therefore as he saw every one to be taking care of themselves as the French advanced, he should not support the war[35], but make peace for himself[36]." To be still more explicit, the pope himself, having received dispatches out of Spain, sought another interview with the English prelate; and after intimating that the emperor was to consent to give up the Milanese to a younger son of the French king, and that the viceroy was negotiating with him for a truce, he stated that "he would tarry no longer, but take

[31] On 7th January 1525, bishop Clark sent this account to Wolsey from Rome: His holiness said, 'that I knew well enough at what foredeal the French king's affairs hath been and now be, and what desperation the emperor's affairs have been, a long season, and ever likely to come to that they be now indeed come to, *i. e.* as touching the matters of Milan, to total ruin.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 7.

[32] 'And his holiness did impute to me some negligence, as tho I had not at all seasons certified your grace of the truth,—making the emperor's part much better, or not so evil as indeed it was.' MS. ib.

[33] MS. ib.

[34] MS. ib.

[35] 'They could not reasonably desire of his holiness to enter the war, to contribute either privily or openly to the same, but rather it should be reputed to be great folly.' MS. ib.

[36] 'And thereupon his holiness showed me that he would trust the benefit and the grace of fortune no longer,'—(could a pope think that fortune only, and not Providence, superintended him?—'and that he would, as very necessity did compel him, assure himself and Florence, by his peace with the French king.' ib. p. 8.

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the time when it should make best for him, and would conclude an amity with Francis[37]," which he accordingly effected. If Francis needed an advocate or a justification of his military proceedings up to this period, the conduct both of his warlike antagonist and of the pope, confessing his acquired predominance and dreading his future course, sufficiently vindicate both the undertaking and the conduct of his campaign.

The sufferings of the French army in their beleaguering lines, from the inclemency of the winter, compel the sensibility to wonder that the human heart should have ever patronized war. Many of her bravest and noblest gendarmerie were disabled by illness, and compelled to return to France; and if the great perished from the severity of the weather, and were obliged to go into the king's kitchen to warm themselves, and to send to their own houses for the means of their subsistence, we may believe the account, that the poor soldiers in the trenches were dying daily from hunger and cold[38]. This misery induced the king, in the middle of January, to try another assault. It was fierce and sanguinary,

[37] The prelate writes that the pope sent for him and said this, and added, 'The emperor was far off from the jeopardy; but he had the enemy in *foribus*, and either he must fight by and by, or else agree by and by: as for fighting, he has not wherewith.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 11. So that the assumed head of the christian world, had no objection to battle, if the means had been sufficient.

[38] These facts are taken from the paper of intelligence in MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 27. It also remarks, that Villeroy and many others had returned to France dying of the cold, and that the French camp was in such want of victuals, that an egg sold for twelve deniers, and a chicken for fifteen shillings. ib. Pace, in his dispatch of 26th January, mentions, that if Francis had not obtained provision fom the territory of Placentia, a city of the pope's, he could not have continued the siege. MS. ib. p. 28.

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but it failed; and no hope remained of gaining the city, but from the pressure of its increasing necessities.

If the duke of Albany had proceeded to Naples as rapidly as Francis to Milan, it would have yielded to his arms[39]; but he moved with slowness, which indicated that the object of his expedition was rather to draw off the imperials from succoring Pavia, than to conquer the southern kingdom[40]. But his appearance on the Appenines roused the factions, both in Rome and beyond, to prepare to join or oppose him. The Ursini, who favored the French, assembled bodies of both horse and foot at Rome, to join his march to Naples. The Colonni, whose family had large possessions in Naples[41], prepared as zealously to assist in its defence. The pope desirous to seem neutral in the public eye, forbad, but could not prevent, these military recruitings[42]. A suspicion of treacherous insincerity, on the part of the pope and Italians, may have contributed to prevent Albany's rapid advance[43]. The pontiff sup-

[39] So Russell wrote from Rome on 30th January, adding, 'all the commonalty, with divers nobles, be good French, and desire greatly the coming of the Frenchmen. I think if the French would come, they would make small resistance.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 29.

[40] The bishop mentions this as the inference made at Rome. On 11th January, he writes, 'he is not removed much since my last,' of the 7th. MS. ib. p. 15.

[41] To the amount of '400,000 ducats of yearly rent, which is all in jeopardy if the French king should obtain Naples.' MS. ib. p. 16.

[42] On 11th January, the pope had 'ordered them to surcease.' MS. ib. 15. But by 11th February, the Ursini had raised 3 or 4,000 foot and 100 men at arms; and then we find 'the pope suffereth both parties to do and make the best they can.' ib. p. 47.

[43] 'The D. Albany, who ought to have taken Naples, has been and is mal tranché. They say, this is une menée de trahison, which the pope and Italians have made under the color of their appointment.' Intell. MS. ib. 27.

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plied his army for three weeks at Sienna, but boasted to the English ambassador, that, "if he had not by good means letted him[44], the duke would have been by that time the master of the Neapolitan kingdom."

The pope having completed his new league with the French, in conjunction with the Florentines, Ferrara, and Mantua, invited the Venetians[45] to imitate his political versatility—his plan of subjecting public principle to temporary interests—and to send their forces to the camp of Francis, who dispatched a new ambassador, with large offers, to decide their unresolving wariness[46]. They determined not to aid the emperor[47], but preferred to imitate the pope, their secret instigator, in an apparent neutrality[48]. The change of the papal politics involved the future in such doubt and difficulty, that they could not discern their safest path, and sought to gain time by substituting general phraseology for specific explanation[49].

But this unexpected combination between the

[44] Bishop's report of the Pope's Conversation. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 45. On 31st January, we learn, 'he is yet at Sienna, in four days journey of Rome, where he shall have of the city 15,000 ducats, two great cannon, and four colubryns.' MS. ib. 91.

[45] Pace's letter to Wolsey, of 26th January, 'extreme labor has been made by the pope and French king, to induce them to enter.' MS. ib. p. 28.

[46] Lett. ib. [47] Bath. lett. ib. p. 7.

[48] Bath's letter, 11th January. 'The Venetians take example of the pope's holiness, and move not. His holiness will not be nknowen that he is the causer of their so doing in nowise; and saith, that he hath telled them, that they should take no example of him, for they be bound unto it by league, and so is not he.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 15.

[49] Pace writes from Venice, 26th January, 'The Venetians are in so great perplexity, by reason of the pope's amity with said king, that they cannot tell how to order themselves; and therefore at 13th day of this month, since which time I had no word from them, no party had resolute answer from them; but general words concerning their men lying in the confines of the duchy of Milan.' MS. ib. 28.

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pope and France, depressed the imperial partisans with a despondence as to all ulterior success, and they began to negotiate for a truce, and would have, for a pecuniary compensation, even settled the contested duchy on a younger son of the king of France[50]. The emperor was so alarmed at the French successes, that in order to keep the Venetians from abandoning him, he granted the Milanese to the duke, whom he had driven from it, and hoped by this sacrifice to have satisfied Venice. But boons extorted by danger, are but little valued; and its haughty lords apprised him, that three months sooner, such a measure would have been good; but that at the present crisis, "they could not meddle, but to their great danger, and therefore would not[51]." Another indication, that up to the end of January the military operations of Francis, tho Pavia still held out, were considered to be both formidable and effective.

But Wolsey now deemed it proper that his ambassador should read a severe lecture to the unsteady pontiff[52]. He dictated so sharp a message, that the bishop hesitated to deliver it in its exact verbality, lest he should exasperate too much[53]; he therefore

[50] Bath, on 31st January, informed Wolsey, 'Since the declaration made lately by the pope's holiness and the French king, it should seem that the viceroy, and others the emperor's agents here, being in despair of their affairs, have attended very straitly to the way of some truce, and, as I think, could have been contented to have left the duchy of Milan to the French king's younger son, receiving for the investiture a competent sum of money, as should have been thought reasonable by the pope.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 30.

[51] Lett. ib.

[52] Bath's letter from Rome, of 11th February, details their conference. MS. ib. p. 43.

[53] So he tells Wolsey. Wolsey's letter containing these orders, is in the British Museum; Harl. MS. N° 297. written in the end of December 1524, whose contents are well abridged in its catalogue. The cardinal complains that there had been a treaty lately and privately

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resolved to declare so much only of the cardinal's letters as he thought was necessary. He prefaced what he chose to express with every appendage that would mitigate the caustic[54]; and he did this with

concluded between the French king and the pope, notwithstanding the many and great protestations and assurances given by his holiness, to continue of the side of the emperor and Henry. He directs the ambassador to remonstrate in his name to the pope, how much the king has had all along at heart the peace of christendom, as well in regard of the Turk as of the damnable heresies suscitate and brought up by the fryar Martin Luther; against both of whom there can be no effectual proceeding without universal peace. To state to the pontiff also, that his favoring the French king, who has been the common disturber, will hinder such peace and be the occasion of many other calamities, as Henry and the emperor would never suffer the French to possess Milan and Naples. If the French king could keep these, the pope would be sure to be used by him as his chaplain; and he would also by degrees, get the remaining part of Italy, and then attempt the empire of Rome. To urge that the pope's *intention of erecting Tuscany into a kingdom*, and settling it on his family of Medicis, may, as 'tis easy to be forseen, be attended by the revolt of Germany from the obedience of the holy see, and perhaps of Spain, and other countries also. He would therefore have the pope to attend with all effect unto such ways and means as shall tend to the increase of the Christian religion. For he (Wolsey) cannot see how it may stand with the law and pleasure of the Almighty, that the heads of the church should thus involve and inmix themselves and their state, by their conjunction with temporal princes in the wars. He supposes that *since these leagues*, offensive or defensive, or both, have been used to be made in the name of any pope, God hath stricken and sent affliction unto the whole church and generality of christendom for the same. And those contracts and conventions used for enhancing of particular families and countries, have not hitherto proved either to last or to do good and furtherance to the papal dignity; but all that one pope hath gone about in such affairs, with much travail, labor, cost and difficulty, hath, either in his own time or soon after, been disappointed; and always with the detriment and damage of the see apostolic, which had been among the chief causes to provoke such damnable sects against the pope's authority, as had of late days been raised in sundry parts of christendom. Wolsey proposes several ways of frustrating the French king's designs upon Naples, especially by the pope's assistance, tho given underhand. He adds, what indicates the insincerity of all his politics, that the pope and Venetians must not only be exhorted to assist the emperor, but *to be put in hopes*, that when the duchy of Milan shall be conferred upon a duke of that name, *they will be rid of both Spaniards* and French at once:—thus secretly urging the pope to contrivances against the emperor, with whom England was then allied and acting. Harl. MS. N° 297. p. 184–194.

[54] He informs the cardinal 'to the intent that the pope's holiness should better perceive your pleasure, by cause your grace's letters be

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so much dexterity, that the pope answered his lecture with a smile and a question, "what he thought individually on the subject." The bishop pursued his probing theme, by assuring him that Wolsey firmly believed that his holiness had "some privy secret, and some unknown intelligence with the French king, to the enlargement of the war and the further unquietness of Christian princes;" and could do no less than advertise him of his danger, not only to himself personally, but to the apostolic see, and to all Christendom[55]. These piercing remarks changed the smile into a sigh; and produced a protestation, that he had done nothing with the French king, either secretly or openly, than what all the world now knew; and that Francis was now disposed to relinquish the siege and the Milanese, and to return to France, if Pavia were put as a deposit, in the hands of the pope, with an engagement of five hundred thousand ducats, to be restored to the emperor when the peace was fully settled[56]; terms which the viceroy had refused; and as Clement thought—so impervious is the future—to the irreparable injury of his master[57]. So fixed the French power in Italy seemed to be, even in the middle of February, in the estimation of the Roman capital. The pontiff showed him intercepted letters from the imperial general,

very full and plain, touching the quick, I translated them into Latin, and read them to the pope, not leaving out protestations of your good mind, nor any other thing that might mollify; so that his holiness hath taken *this sour sauce sweetly powdered.*' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 43.

[55] MS. ib. p. 45. [56] MS. ib.

[57] 'Whereon his holiness said, the viceroy had done the emperor such evil service, that he should not, all the days of his life, be able to recompense it; for he thought the French king would never be brought to that point again.' MS. ib. p. 45.

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CHAP. XIII.

which evinced it " to be agreed among them that the pope was not to be trusted [58] ;" and the episcopal ambassador did not think it necessary to blame or to contradict the assertion, but assured him that Henry would adhere steadily to the emperor [59]. This declaration did not shake the pope from his new policy : he judged the emperor's power to be so debilitated, as to be no longer to be feared ; he became determined that the French king should have Milan, and brought the Venetians and the other states of Italy to a concurring resolution, " that the emperor should make no monarchy" in that peninsula [60]. The pontiff was so sanguine that Charles was at the mercy of his enemy, that he assumed that the imperial troops must be defeated in the battle that was expected, and was already planning his own conduct on that contingency. He settled, with his own imagination, that Francis, tho he conquered, should have only the Milanese ; and to confine him to that, the pope resolved to re-collect the remains of the imperial army, which he foreknew would be discomfited ; and joining to these the Venetian, the Florentine, and his own men of war, he thought he should be fully competent to arrest the progress of the triumphant French [61]. It was Alnaschar in the Tiara, painting the clouds of futurity with the dreams of his self love, which in ten short days were to change into disappointment, humiliation, anxiety, and terror.

The continuing siege of Pavia, exposed Francis to

[58] MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 45. [59] MS. ib. p. 46.
[60] So the bishop reported in his postscript, of the 13th February. MS. ib. p. 48.
[61] Bishop's dispatch of 14th February. p. 51.

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the derision of Henry, whose queen Catherine, happy that her countrymen had some ground of exultation, thought their resistance here a counterbalance to their repulse at Marseilles[62]. Wolsey censured the French king's perseverance, and foreboded his ruin[63]; and the king, with sir Thomas More, amused themselves with an anticipation of the disasters or disappointments that would follow[64]. The cardinal, either earnest for the moment against the French ambition, or obeying his sovereign's more honest impulses, in January, directed the English ambassador to urge the imperial generals to attack their royal adversary, while Albany was absent, and before fresh troops

[62] Sir Thomas More, on 29th November, wrote to Wolsey from the king's side at Hertford, that Henry had received letters from Pace and others, that 'as highly contented him as any tidings that I have seen; which upon reading, his grace well noted unto the queen's grace, who said, 'that she was glad that the Spaniards had yet done something in recompence of their departure out of Provence.' 1 Ellis. Orig. Lett. p. 254.

[63] More says to Wolsey, 'I showed his highness that your grace thought that the French king passed the mountains, in hope to win all with a visage in Italy, and to find there no resistance; and his sudden coming upon it much abashed the countries, putting each quarter in doubt of the other, and out of surety who might be well trusted. But now saith he finds it otherwise; missing the help of money, which he had hoped to have had in Milan; and finding the fortresses well manned and furnished; and being at Pavia, by the expugnation whereof he thought to put all the remnant in fear, now thus rejected with loss and reproach; his estimation shall decay and his friends fail.' 1 Ellis, 255.

[64] More mentions, that he remarked to Henry, that 'as the French king before wrote and boasted to his mother that he had, of his own mind, passed into Italy, so it is likely that she shall have shortly cause to write again to him, that it had been much better for him to abide at home, than to put himself there.' The jest-loving secretary pleasing himself to add, 'whereas he standeth in great peril, whether he shall ever get thence.' At this trait of intended satire, 'the *king's grace laughed*, and said, he thinketh it will be very hard for him to get thence; and that the matter going thus, the pope's holiness will not be hasty neither in peace nor truce.' MS. ib. 133. 1 Ellis, 255.

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arrived [65]; and instructed the bishop of Bath to give that reprimand to the pope already alluded to, altho it was the breach of all discipline, that a bishop and a cardinal should censure their supreme head, whom they presented to others as the infallible director of the Christian world [66]. Yet this counteraction of his spiritual sovereign, appears not to have proceeded from any cordial confidence in Charles; Wolsey's instructions to Pace and Russell, to watch what was passing between him and Francis, and to be wary how they parted with the money he sent them [67]; the fact of Russell's returning fifty thousand crowns, instead of employing it on the emperor's army [68]; the

[65] See the cardinal's letters in Strype's Eccl. Mem. 1 p. 32. and Fiddes, p. 327.

[66] See it in Fiddes, p. 324-9. One passage will show how cardinals assumed the right of lecturing the pope when they pleased, tho it was mortal heresy for laymen to take such liberties. 'If the pope's holiness loved God, himself and christendom, now is the time, since the three things be so feasible to show the same. If the inconveniences before specified shall happen to ensue the neglect thereof, the king's highness, I and others, which thus would give unto the pope's holiness *wholesome admonition and exhortation*, be discharged before God and the world, and the culp, dishonor, blame and reproach, shall be imputed to those which has deserved the same.' p. 328. There is no reverence in this. Nor in ordering the ambassadors to tell the pope that, if he favored the French king, 'he would be the principal author and occasion of God's displeasure, and of his own dishonor;' and 'that by the papal leagues, offensive and defensive, God had stricken and sent affliction to the holy church.' What sneer could be more galling than to mention to his face, 'the contracts and conventions used for advancing particular families or countries to the papal dignity;' and to caution him not to lessen the rights of the church, 'out of any private regard to his family;' but to direct also a rebuke, 'that the heads of the church should thus involve and mix themselves and the state by conjunction unto temporal princes in the war,' was an act of the most self-blinded pride. Was not he, a *cardinal* and a pope aspirant, doing the same; and had he not, for the last twelve years, been performing the very thing for which he was thus censuring, and justly censuring his superior? This letter, in Fiddes, was sent about the 16th January 1525, as appears from Strype's Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 34.

[67] See his letter in Fiddes, App. 144-6.

[68] This is mentioned in Wolsey's letter in the Lambeth library. Fiddes, App. p. 146.

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cardinal's request to have a private agent from the French government, and his having so many secret communications with this person, that the imperial ambassador, who was fairly apprized of his arrival, expressed to his court his suspicions of the result[69]: these circumstances make the cardinal's heart and conduct an inextricable maze, unless we suppose that, perceiving Francis to be less flexible to his management as he became more successful, Wolsey desired to punish him for his refractory spirit; and as to Clement, was delighted to thwart the pope by whose elevation his own had been prevented.

It was amid these inconsistent operations, that he conducted his secret negotiation with Louisa, thro her steward Joachimo, who had passed to London as a merchant from Boulogne, and was lodged privately with Dr. Larke, at Blackfriars, till the 23d January, when the president of Rouen came as another French envoy, and resided with him. The cardinal had continual intercourse with them unknown to the world, till Henry came to London, and Joachimo was then removed to Richmond, where he remained till Whitsuntide. What passed between them has not been avowed. But Du Praet, the imperial ambassador in London, to whom Wolsey asserts that he

[69] See the account of this in Fiddes' life, 331-6, from Wolsey's epistle to Dr. Sampson. This is in MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 1. De Praet, the imperial ambassador in London, dispatched a messenger to his court with letters, which mentioned that Joachimo had been eight months in London, and that Henry would contribute nothing to the defence of Italy. It was supposed that he had also expressed his doubt as to the cardinal's sincerity. One of these letters was intercepted by a pretended mistake of the police patrol, and Wolsey sits down to give an elaborate answer to the charges it contained. He admits that Joachim was sent, by his desire, from the lady-regent at Paris, and had lodged at Blackfriars, but asserts that he had made the emperor's ambassador privy to it, and to all his dealings with him. ib. p. 334.

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mentioned his arrival and imparted his conferences, finding that he had been here several months, mistrusted the long, mysterious intercourse, and communicated his doubts to his government. By the accidental conduct of a police patrol, as Wolsey said, or by his contrivance, as Du Praet believed, one of his confidential messengers was stopped, and his letters opened. This breach of diplomatic inviolability, only augmented the emperor's suspicion of secret dealings between the cardinal and the French court; and his dissatisfaction was intimated by unfriendly conduct towards our merchants in the marts of Flanders and Brabant. Wolsey thought it necessary to write a long letter of vindication and explanation to Dr. Sampson, our ambassador to Charles. Du Praet assured his master of the steadfastness of the king of England, tho he hinted his doubts about his cabinet[70]; and the emperor was so seriously alarmed by it, that on 5th March, before the battle of Pavia was known, his ambassadors arrived to demand the delivery of the princess Mary to be married to him, and Henry's promise to invade France in the ensuing summer[71].

It was that extraordinary man, the duke of Bourbon, who broke to pieces all this political machinery. On the 12th of January, he arrived at the camp of

[70] These facts appear from comparing the contemporary authorities of Hall, 691; Cavendish, 73–5; and Wolsey's explaining letter, in Fiddes, 330–6.

[71] Hall, 692. One of the confidential intimations of Du Praet to his court alarmed and irritated Wolsey. It was, that the cardinal had directed, in case what he mentioned was not done, then 'to constrain earnestly the holy father, threatening to deprive him of his dignity.' This, exclaims Wolsey, 'was imputing to me, a cardinal and a legate, no less culpe than treason.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 9.

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the imperialists[72], and on the 18th, announced to Henry that he had received from the emperor, the commission of lieutenant-general of his Italian army[73], and assured him that he would make every exertion for him and for Charles[74]. The expected Germans had arrived on the 10th, and on the 16th he had held a military council, in which it was determined to advance towards the French king[75]. The force was six thousand Spaniards, eight thousand Germans, and four thousand Italians, besides the troops in Pavia[76], every one determined on the full exertion of his individual bravery[77].

The single presence of Bourbon dispersed the despondency that was spreading a gloom over the emperor's cause[78]. It alarmed even the confident pope into sending to him an ambassador to treat for a pacific arrangement with Francis, tho he ventured to ask for him the concession of Milan. "Such an appointment as this must be concluded with the point of spears and swords," was the answer of the disdainful duke[79], who directed the English envoy to tell his sovereign, that with men so well disposed as his soldiery were, he trusted he should do some no-

[72] Pace's letter to Wolsey, of 26th Jan. MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 28.

[73] See his original letter to Henry, of this date, from Gennes. MS. ib. p. 26.

[74] 'Which is the thing that in all the world I most desire.' ib.

[75] On 17th Jan. the viceroy sent this intelligence to Margaret, in Flanders: 'Seeing the state of affairs, and the great expenses we must bear to sustain this army, and the good will of the soldiers, we have concluded to set off on the 21st or 22d of this month at latest, and take the field to give battle to the king of France.' MS. ib. p. 18.

[76] So the bishop reported on 11th January. MS. ib. p. 15.

[77] The viceroy added, 'each one takes the thing up as his own affair. They are content. They declare they will do their duty.' MS. ib. p. 18.

[78] Pace wrote, 'since the arrival of the duke in the field, all men have had great hope of the emperor's affairs.' MS. ib. p. 28.

[79] MS. ib.

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table act, and send him shortly such tidings as would right well content him[80]. Want of money not only to pay the troops, but to procure the carriage of their artillery and munitions, awhile kept them stationary[81]; but receiving advices from Spain, that two hundred thousand ducats were on the road, these difficulties were allayed; and as Pavia was now distressed for want of many necessaries, on 24th January, their whole camp moved from Lodi to Marignan, within fourteen miles of Pavia[82], and from thence to attack the castle of St. Angelo, eight miles from that city. It was an important post, because it commanded the main channel by which the French derived their provisions[83]. Francis hearing of the design, exhorted its captain to a strenuous defence, with a promise to rescue him; but a battle only could do this, and so sure was the pope's mind that this must be propitious to his new friends, that he reckoned "it cannot be evil, so they fight[84]." The able marquis Pescara, with a selected band of Spaniards and Italians, commanded, and in a few days accomplished the enterprise[85].

[80] MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 28.

[81] Guicciard. L. 15. p. 106. The duke had intended to have moved on 17th January. Pace's Letter, p. 28. The Spaniards agreed to wait a month without pay. The Germans, to be content with their daily food. The cavalry were more clamorous for money; but Pescara went personally to their lodgings, and at last roused them to forbearance and to activity. Guicc. ib.

[82] Bishop's lett. of 31st Jan. MS. ib. p. 31.

[83] Viceroy's letter to Praet. MS. ib. p. 34.

[84] Bp. of Bath's letter. MS. ib. p. 31, 2.

[85] Viceroy's letter, dated 10th February, from the camp, near Pavia. MS. 34. He urged Du Praet, the emperor's ambassador in England, to 'solicit the king and legate to do their duty.' ib. Bath, mentioning its capture with 1,000 men in it, subjoins 'the French king said he would rescue it; but this is not the first promise he hath broken.' MS. ib. p. 47.

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The two camps were now pitched so near together, that every one in Italy expected daily to hear of a mighty conflict. It was in this position that sir John Russell was instructed by Henry to invite Bourbon to England, to direct an expedition to France from the English channel. The duke had feelings dearer to his heart to gratify, and grander hopes before him than to obey such a call. His eye was on Francis. His wishes had so often craved to be brought front to front with the sovereign who had driven him to exile, and whom he would not forgive, that no temptation could draw him from attempting to inflict that avenging blow which he was now near the moment of striking[86].

From the capture of St. Angelo, Bourbon marched towards Pavia, and on the 7th February stationed his vanguard within half a mile of the town, in front and defiance of the French army, that lay between him and the walls. Continual skirmishes ensued, but Francis, remaining in his fortified camp, declined to leave its advantages for a battle in the plains, tho his cavalry doubled that of his opponents[87].

[86] The duke answered it on 13th February, in a letter now in the Museum. MS. Vitell. B. 7. Which begins, 'M. L'Ambassadeur, I have received the letters you have written to me from Rome, the 8th of this month, by which you inform me, that the king, your master, desires that I should go to him.' p. 13. It is dated 'au Camp de la Mothe.'

[87] Bishop's letter of 11th February. MS. p. 47, 8. Guicciardini gives these dates of the imperial movement from St. Angelo: 1st Feb. at Vistarina; 2d, at Lardirago and St. Alesso, over the little stream Lolona, four miles from Pavia, and three from the French; on the 3d they lodged in Prati, towards the gates Justina, extending to a wood, near St. Lazzaro, which placed them within a mile of the French advance guard, within half a mile of their ramparts, and within two miles and a half of Pavia. In this position they found plenty of subsistence. L. 15. p. 114, 115. But the diplomatic letters mark the 7th Feb. as the day when the main body fixed themselves within half a mile of the French lines.

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The intermediate position of the French king between the town and his enemy, disquieted his most veteran generals; and Tremouille, who had suffered from it at Novarre, advised him to retire from Pavia and to encamp at Binasco, assuring him that the imperial army must soon break up, from their pecuniary necessities[88]; but to make this retrogression, was to give up the city, as it would be immediately relieved; and his other officers thought that the strength of their entrenchments bade defiance to their adversaries. This belief was not unfounded, for tho Bourbon daily in vain provoked the French to leave their works and join the battle; their formidable appearance checked his impetuosity, and the armies remained bearding each other so closely as to be able to converse, without either daring to risk the encounter on his adversary's ground. Bourbon made such attacks on the outworks and distant parts of the French lines, as to effect a communication with the garrison. A bold venture of his cavalry supplied it with the gunpowder they needed, and Leyva requested that they might not injuriously hurry their movements, as he could yet "endure well enough for a while[89]."

For fourteen days the armies persevered in this singular position of close vicinity, amid mutual dread and defiance, and to the surprise of all Italy, who every hour expected the tidings of a deadly conflict; even Wolsey, whose private treaty with the French

[88] Guicciard. L. 15. p. 107-8.

[89] B. Bath's lett. 13th Feb. p. 49. By a sally also the four French carriages laden with powder were taken, ib. Leyva, with some dexterity, allayed a mutinous discontent of his German soldiery that had nearly forced a surrender. Bellay.

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agent Joachimo had yet produced no effective results, was roused to such impatience as to write to Pace, on the 4th of March, to complain that he had been advertised from sundry parts, that altho the two armies of the imperials and French had remained within half a mile of each other, from the 7th of February till the 17th, yet that no battle had been struck, and but a small appearance of one, because, the French king being strongly encamped, his adversaries would not venture to assail his fortifications. But, lest lack of money should make the imperialists separate, he now authorized the envoy to obtain some for the army from the merchant he mentioned[90]. He did not then know that the assault he wished had taken place, and that all the ruin he desired to hurl upon the head of Francis, had now overwhelmed it.

Battle of Pavia, 24th Feb. 1525.

This dispatch had left his cabinet but five days before a Latin letter arrived in it from the archduke Ferdinand, brother of Charles, to Henry, announcing in modest, brief and rapid terms, that on the 24th a conflict had taken place near Pavia, between the armies of the emperor and the king of France; that by the divine clemency, the victory had fallen to his Cæsarean majesty, and that the king of France was taken prisoner, and fourteen thousand of his countrymen slain[91]. This was speedily followed or accompanied by the transmission of an exulting communication, with a little more detail, from lady Mar-

[90] It is dated 5th March, from the king's manor of Bridewell. Harl. MSS. N° 283. p. 22. and Fidd. App. p. 146.

[91] Mr. Ellis has printed the short original letter in his first volume, p. 257.

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garet to the English ambassadors at her court[92], of the same event, which shook all England with transport, that the sovereign against whose power the English troops had failed, and whom national rivalry made them too fond of attacking, was now in the lowest state of humiliation and calamity. Till this event became known, the secret negotiations with Francis were kept afloat[93]. But now a new current of mind burst forth in England. King, cabinet and people, partook with equal joy and congratulations, of the inebriating intelligence; and the most extravagant hopes, speculations and partitionary arrangements, began immediately to be indulged[94].

This astounding reverse had been produced to Francis by the councils, spirit and skill, of the duke of Bourbon. The same military talents which had given to his sovereign victory and honor at Marignan, ruined and degraded him to a prisoner at Pavia.

So formidable were the entrenchments of Francis,

[92] She wrote rather too largely from Brussels, 6th March. 'This morning a little before our dinner we received the best news in the world from Italy. It hath pleased God to give to the emperor's arms victory over his enemies, and the king of France is a prisoner. Fourteen thousand of his people were killed in the battle, and all the rest defeated and taken without one having escaped.' MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 107.

[93] The news arrived in England on the 9th March at seven in the morning. Hall says, 'that on this day Joachimo and the president of Rouen were going to the court to be presented to the king, whom they had not yet seen; but the tidings reached them in Holborn on their way. They returned to their lodgings, and soon withdrew to France.' He adds, 'It was thought surely that the king of England would have had peace with the French king if this chance had not happened.' 693.

[94] 'In the city of London were made great fires and triumph. The mayor and aldermen rode about the city with trumpets. Much wine was laid in divers places of the city that every man might drink. On Tower-hill the ambassadors of Rome, Flanders, and Venice had a great banquet in a goodly tent, and as they returned home all the streets were full of harnessed men and cressets attending on the constables.' Hall, 693.

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from which fifty-five pieces of artillery[95] were seen ready to pour death on those who advanced to assault them, that notwithstanding the individual determination with which the imperial army had marched from Lodi to engage in the conflict, yet when they contemplated the inexpugnable appearance of the fortified camp, they were deterred from attempting so destructive an attack[96]. Their commanders examined the works, but discerned no point of safer penetration. Money, not the sword, seemed about to give the triumph[97]. He that could longest purchase the indispensable supplies, was sure to be the victor, if the result were left to time; and as the English ambassador had then been ordered by Wolsey to withhold from the emperor's army the money he had to contribute, until an engagement had taken place[98], the laurel of the campaign, and the command of Italy, as its result, were certain from this cause, to be with the French, without a movement or a struggle[99]. Francis, adopting the advice

[95] Pet. Martyr Epist. 812. p. 484.

[96] Hence the ambassador wrote on 14th Feb. 'Albeit these men be yet as they have been these nine or ten days, so nigh together that one may know another, and almost speak together; yet men thinketh that they shall not fight. For our men, tho they be never so hardy, yet they must set upon the French in their strengthis. And on their side, it is thought that the French will not come abroad.' MS. ib. 51.

[97] The prelate adds, 'So, who can longest continue is likely to obtain victory: and that maketh greatly against our men, who be very bare of money: and the 200,000 ducats promised by the emperor is not yet come, ne word thereof.' MS. ib.

[98] 'As for the king's money, your grace knoweth my commission is *after* battle stricken: and tho my commission were larger, yet the money is not to be gotten of the merchants without such loss, as I dare not venture so to take it without your grace's special commission.' Lett. ib. 51.

[99] 'Only lack of money on our side shall give, by all likelihood, the victory to the French king, without battle striking, as every man feareth.' Lett. ib.

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of his Italian friends, and relying on their future amity, awaited this issue[100], and bore the defying insults of his enemies without allowing the provocation to seduce him from his ramparts; while the imperials, half renouncing an enterprise which seemed too desperate to attempt, began in their turn to surround themselves with protecting entrenchments[101]. CHAP. XIII.

One ebullition only of his irritation escaped the French king. He was so vexed at the capture of St. Angelo, which he had promised to succor, that he sent the marquis of Pescara, who had taken it, a personal challenge by an herald trumpeter, to meet either with a few, or many, or equal number. Pescara, in an immediate reply, praised his spirit, and thanked him for the distinction he had conferred. Nothing more honorable had ever occurred or could happen, than to be invited by such a king to a particular combat. "But," added the marquis, "I am not a free agent. The emperor is my sovereign, and without advising with him, I cannot accept of a proposition so important[102]."

But Pescara took his own way of showing that he had not declined the meeting from any dread of his antagonists. On the 19th February, two hours

[100] On 15th February, Pace wrote, 'He keeps himself in his strengthis and fortifications, not intending to come out, according to the council given him by the new friends he hath gotten in Italy, whose intent and devise is to prolong the time and to consume the emperor's army by necessity and lack of money.' MS. ib. p. 56. Bellay also notices, that the French ambassadors at Rome advised him to defer the battle for a fortnight, as the imperialists must by that time disband from want. p. 388.

[101] Pace mentions, the imperialists having finished their trenches, (MS. ib. p. 57), and he (p. 59) and Guicciardini state, that they fortified themselves with bastions and ramparts, from which they cannonaded the French camp. L. 15. p. 117.

[102] Pet. Mart. Ep. 807. p. 481.

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before day, selecting one thousand five hundred Spaniards to accompany him, he attacked one of the French bastions which had eight pieces of artillery, and carried it by surprise with such celerity, that if the whole army had been prepared to have followed him, they would have found an avenue to the exploit they had so long wished to attempt. He spiked four of the cannon, and slew one thousand two hundred of their defenders, before he was driven to his retreat[103].

The Pavian garrison had been as alert and enterprising. Tho Leyva, observing that their friends had found the French lines so strong that they could not be assailed without a loss, which would make the success either doubtful or useless, had conveyed a message by cipher to the generals, to request that they would not, for his sake, hurry an attack so hazardous[104]; yet to keep alive the animation of all, perceiving the quarters of John de Medici carelessly guarded, on 17th February, caused a sally to be made upon him, in which both cannon and ammunition were captured. Stung by this disgrace, the Italian general tempted a repetition of the enterprise by a wilful negligence, while he planted an ambuscade to entrap his assailants[105]. His ingenuity succeeded in destroying or dispersing them, but as he was showing his French admiral the place of his ambush, a single shot from a chance fire broke his heel bone, and he was carried off in agony to Placentia[106]. This casual incident contributed greatly to the catastrophe which

[103] Lett. de Princip. V. 2. p. 69. The Spaniards had a white shirt over their armor, to distinguish them in the evening darkness. ib. p. 68.
[104] Frandsberg's lett. MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 61.
[105] Bellay, 389.
[106] Guicc. L. 15. p. 117.

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followed. Altho the youngest, he was the ablest general in the French army; and it was thought that his judgment, decision and bravery, at the turning moment of the final crisis, would not only have weakened the success of Bourbon's manœuvres, but have also given that steadiness and resolution to the Swiss troops, which would have counteracted the intimidating determination of their opponents. The immediate effect of his loss, was the disorderly disbanding of the soldiers he had commanded[107]. CHAP. XIII.

Pescara pursued his plan of the most daring annoyances. He ceased not either day or night, but was always employing his men in skirmishing and alarming his opponents; in one place trying to undermine; in another, forming trenches; and in others, raising mounts for lodging artillery that would reach the French lines. He feared nothing; and he was daily encroaching upon them, winning one foot of ground after another[108], till he came into close vicinity with those whom he burned to meet in a manual and decisive encounter.

The sufferings of the emperor's army now exceeded what the French had endured. They wanted every thing; they lay all night in the open air, and the weather was cold and wet[109]. They had no money, no provisions and no clothes. They began to die in their camp from hunger. They were in such extreme necessity, that it was not possible to abide it longer. Such discussions arose about breaking up their camp and retiring, that the French king was informed that

[107] Bellay, 389. [108] Guicc. 116.
[109] Pet. Mart. Ep. 812. p. 484. Half of their men were spread about the country to get provisions. Sandoval, p. 167.

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they had determined to do so[110]. If the viceroy's counsels had governed, this important conclusion would have been the result. He dreaded the desperate attack; and if the duke of Bourbon had not been in the field, a truce would have been negotiated with Francis[111].

Seventeen days had the armies lain within cannon shot of their respective lines, fearing, defying, and provoking each other, yet neither venturing to attack his adversary's position. But the governor of Pavia now signified that he could not long hold out, and the imperial soldiers not only murmured at their wants, but began to desert. A military council was then convened. The impracticability of forcing the French entrenchments was insisted on, but it was also urged, that it was better to die fighting than flying; that if they did not conquer they must perish. Retreat was not safer than the battle. There was no place to receive them, and all hope would expire if they receded. Venice had refused to join them. The pope was tottering from them, and Florence was governed by his conduct. In front, in their rear, and on every side, only enemies were to be seen, or states not friendly[112]. It was not then from the French cannon alone that danger and death would fall upon them. Pescara had also to urge, that he had proved the opposing ramparts not to be unimpressible to surprise, resolution and a well-conducted adventure. The fiery soul of Bourbon, who saw no difficulties

[110] Dr. Sampson reported these facts from the information of the emperor's chancellor. Lett. 15th March. 1 Ellis, p. 265.

[111] So Sir John Russell states in his dispatch. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 78.

[112] Pet. Mart. Ep. 484. Paradin also mentions that Bourbon advised the battle. p. 39.

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which a judicious eye and an intrepid spirit might not master, seconded the animation of Pescara, and decided the resolves of the hesitating captains. A veteran officer came out of Pavia to know the plan of attack, and the point at which its garrison might co-operate[113]. It was settled that the army should not assault the French king's formidable position, unless some clear advantage not then in prospect should occur; but that they should direct their efforts to force an entrance into the park, and crossing it into Pavia, should change the garrison and throw in supplies. To prevent this consequence, Francis must leave his forts to fight them, and the battle would, on that movement, be on more equal ground. If he preferred the safety of his entrenchments, Pavia would be wrenched from his grasp, and all the honor of the enterprise be theirs"[114].

The great masses of the French troops were stationed in the spacious park of Mirabello, whose solid walls of brick and limestone extended five miles on each side of an imperfect square, or rather trapezium; one end approaching Pavia, the other the imperial encampment"[115]. The stately palace of this domain was made the lodgment of Francis, and his main body also occupied the two monasteries of St. Paul and St. James—high places which commanded

[113] Frandsberg's lett. MS. p. 61.

[114] M. Bellay, 389. Brantome charges on the viceroy as to the battle 'qu'il ne voulut jamais condescendre a le donner, encore qu'il y eut toutes les raisons du monde.' L. 4. p. 209.

[115] P. Martyr gives a rude plan of it. Ep. 805. p. 478. For the event of the battle we have the contemporary accounts of Frandsberg, P. Martyr, Bellay, Guicciardini and Sandoval; the valuable writer of the letter in the Lett. Principi, and the English ambassadors, and also an account in MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 80. each of which supplies some important circumstances.

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the plain—while his van, under Palisse, consisting chiefly of Swiss, were fortified among the suburbs near St. Justin's gate, in the three churches of St. Peter, Apollonius, and Jerom. His rear guard, with its leader, his brother-in-law, the duc d'Alençon, remained near him in Mirabello. The park wall was opened, where it was necessary to give them rapid communication with each other; and these positions, flanked in every part with artillery, not only held Pavia completely environed, and commanded the rivers Ticino, Gravalone, and Torrello, but also occupied all the space stretching to the Ticino, on the lower side, and to the high road to Milan on the upper. The imperialists could not reach Pavia but by crossing the Ticino, or by entering through the park[116]. The passage of the river under such a destructive fire as would hail upon them, was too unhopeful; but some portion of the park wall might be boldly, if secretly, undermined. The French king had called in all his troops from every part: sent for Tremouille from Milan, and leaving only Saluzze to keep Genoa, and some detachments in castles to keep open the roads, prepared for the great conflict that was now advancing[117].

It was concerted with the Pavian captain, that two guns, from a marked spot, should be discharged in quick succession, when Leyva should make his co-operating sally[118] on Chabannes, who commanded the besieging troops that most annoyed him. A body of miners and sappers was formed to operate upon the wall, and two thousand German lansquenets and

[116] Guicciardini, L. 15. p. 110–12.
[117] Bellay, 382.
[118] Frundsberg's lett. MS. 61. P. Mart. Ep.

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one thousand Spaniards were selected and dressed like Pescara's men, six days before, in their white shirts over their armor, to be known by their own people, who as soon as an entrance should become practicable, were to charge the troops behind it[119]. The rest of the army were to act together under four chiefs: One division, of six thousand Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, led by the marquis Guast; a battalion of one thousand two hundred Spaniards only, light horse mingled with cross-bowmen, under Pescara; a strong squadron of heavy cavalry, headed by the viceroy; and the main battle of the imperials following the duke of Bourbon[120].

At midnight the mining party advanced, and began their subterraneous operations; while a moving band, with drums and trumpets, sounded a vociferous alarm near the bastions of St. Lazar, as if the attack was advancing on that quarter[121], and to drown the sound of the more distant excavations. Demonstrations of this sort were kept up, for the foundations of the wall were observed to be stronger than had been supposed; and instead of gaining an admission in the darkness, as was planned, the dawn began to appear before the mines could be exploded[122]. Francis had received some intimation that an attempt was meditated to force his entrenchment, and immediately ordered away, on the preceding night, all the suttlers

[119] Frandsberg's lett. MS. P. Mart. Ep.

[120] Lett. Principi, V. 2. p. 70. Guicciard. p. 118. P. Mart. 484.

[121] Lett. Prin. p. 70. P. Mart. 484. One of the devices to distract the attention of the French generals, was to pretend to be sending off a strong force to attack Milan, and this was so well managed, that they actually dispatched 400 lancers and a band of foot from the camp to protect the city. Lett. Prin. p. 69.

[122] Frandsb. MS. 61.

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and useless people, to leave the space clear between the Ticino, the camp, and the city, and sent them over the bridge he had made to convey his provisions from Piamonte. He did not know the precise spot selected for the assault; but he drew out his army and stood ready in order of battle[123], to repulse his adversaries, if they dared to attack him. The alarms were made, as if they were coming at one time from the Po, at another on the Ticino, and at another on St. Lazar[124]; but he seems not to have been aware of the real quarter of the attack until sixty fathoms of the wall on his distant right were suddenly blown up; and the three thousand white shirts rushing instantly upon the ruins, overpowered the troops they found, drove the gens d'armes to fall back on the main body[125], and advanced immediately to gain possession of the palace[126] from which Francis had moved, to take his station with his men.

The whole body of the imperialists pressed on rapidly after them, in the appointed divisions. They passed immediately as they came up, towards Mirabello and Pavia, leaving the king's army on their left, and not attempting to assault it; but they were compelled to march along the head of it[127]. They had brought no cannon with them but three pieces, because the rest had either stuck in the marshy parts, or could not be dragged through the ruins of the broken wall[128]. The French had changed their front, so as to bring their artillery to bear in full

[123] Lett. Prin. p. 70.
[124] Guicciard. p. 118.
[125] Frundsb. 61. Guicc. p. 119. Bellay, 389.
[126] P. Mart. 484.
[127] Bellay, 390.
[128] P. Mart. 484.

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force on the massy battalions that were moving before them; and its increasing discharges made such breaches in the opposing ranks, that the air became full of heads and arms flying about[129]. The duke, at this havoc, ordered the troops to break into files, and run in quick time, to gain the protection of a mound, that would cover them from such a dreadful fire[130]; at the same time the lansquenets in the French service had defeated a Spanish force that attempted to pass their right[131]. This combination of advantages, led the French king into a mistake of judgment, and a consequential movement, that brought on his catastrophe. As he saw the files running, he thought they were flying in panic, and that a vigorous charge would complete their discomfiture. Like the duke of Wellington at Waterloo, he ordered his main body to advance spiritedly upon his enemies. His troops willingly obeyed him, from the belief that they had won the triumph; and this forward movement put him in a moment in the advance of his artillery[132].

As soon as Bourbon saw that his antagonists now covered their dreaded cannon, he halted his undismayed battalions, converted them again into close columns, and led them to an intrepid charge upon his advancing opponents. The two guns were fired that were to bring out the sally[133]. Pescara followed

[129] Bellay, 391. Frandsberg says, the French artillery 'fired terriblement upon us.' MS. p. 61. The Latin account in MS. Vitell. says, 'The French cannon by their assiduous fire, did more damage than could be easily believed: a great number being prostrated, the rest were turned to flight.' MS. p. 80.

[130] Bellay, ib. P. Mart. 484. The Latin MS. adds, 'The highest courage of the skilful leaders was called out, when the army, shaken by the French artillery, could hardly stand. There was no small fear for the issue of the battle.' MS. Vitell. p. 80.

[131] Bellay, ib. [132] Bell. ib. [133] Frandsb. 61.

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Bourbon, and ordered the marquis Guast to march up quick without fear near the house [134]. The duke throwing off his helmet to be known, and brandishing a spear, led on to a mortal onset in front of the main battle, while Pescara charged the Swiss, and Guast the Germans [135]. They were received with a resolution which broke their first troop, and forced them all a few paces back; and at that instant the French gens d'armes came upon them [136]. It was a moment of such danger to the imperialists, that Pescara sent in haste to call the viceroy to come up with his heavy cavalry [137]. But Lannoy, alarmed at the apparent crisis, hesitated; and exclaimed, that all was lost [138]. The urgent requisition was repeated, till he rushed in a furious charge, which threw the Swiss into a panic [139]. To the astonishment of both armies at a pusillanimity so unusual to that nation in battle, they broke and quitted the field with precipitation, leaving Francis in a state to be immediately surrounded in flank and rear [140]. The lansquenets in the French service were brought up instantly by the White Rose Pole and by Lorraine; and lowering their heads, directed themselves undauntedly against

[134] Fransb. 62. Guic. 119.

[135] P. Mart. 484. Lett. Prin. 70. Frundsberg headed one of the bands in this movement. MS. 62.

[136] Lett. Prin. 70. Bellay, 391.

[137] Lett. Prin. 70. Latin MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 80.

[138] Brantome arraigns him as 'le poltron que lors qu'il voulat aller a la charge, il en trembloit de peur, disant a tous coups en suspirant, Ha! nous sommes perdus!' V. 4. p. 209. He seems to have taken this fact from Pescara's letter to the emperor.

[139] Guicciard. 119. The Viceroy's charge when at last made, was 'afro leone ferocior.' Pet. Mart. 484. The Latin MS. in Vitellius ascribes the recovery of the battle to this attack of the cavalry. MS. p. 80. It calls the secession of the Swiss 'a base flight.'

[140] They set off straight on the road to Milan. Bellay, 391.

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a massy column of the imperialists that were wishing to charge the French king[141]. But the desertion of the Swiss had left the French army so exposed, that it was easy for Bourbon to direct his battalions into a simultaneous attack on all sides of the French army, who had now to struggle on every flank with forces outnumbering their own, and seeking zealously a close and personal combat, hand to hand and foot to foot, each man anxious to exert and to distinguish himself. The garrison of Pavia making their attack on Chabannes, prevented his moving to assist his royal master[142]. No reserves had been provided, and no succor was in reach, except from a valorous advance of the rear guard that had been entrusted to D'Alençon; but this prince, who had made one successful exertion, instead of attempting by a vigorous movement, to extricate the king his brother from his overpowering peril, was seized with a dismay like the Swiss, and moved off the field of battle unharming and unhurt[143]. The White Rose and his Germans fought till most had perished, with unshrinking fidelity[144]. But as they fell, the weight of the overwhelming battle concentered more heavily on the king and his gens d'armes. In this irrecoverable state, his re-

[141] Bellay, 391. Major Snodgrass mentions the Burmese in their late battles with sir Archibald Campbell to have advanced in the same manner on their attack; 'with spear or musket couched, and *their heads lowered to a butting position*, they blindly charged on the soldiers bayonets.' Narrat. of Burmese War, 1826.

[142] Lett. Prin. 70. Bellay, 393. The force that came from the castle was 500 infantry, with six pieces of artillery, 200 men at arms, and 300 light cavalry. Lett. Prin. p. 70. The guns of the fort protected and assisted them in this attack. Latin MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 80.

[143] Guicciard. 120. He remarks, that they withdrew into Piedmont, without either fighting or being assailed, no man following them, and leaving their baggage behind. ib. 121. Sandoval mentions that, at first, by making a circuit of some trees, he had attacked and broke a corps of 2,000 Italians in the rear; but came no more into the battle, p. 169.

[144] Bell. 392. Frandsb. 62.

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maining army breaking all around him, the king made an effort to save himself by the bridge of the Ticino. The flying French all took that direction, pursued by their unsparing conquerors; but when they reached the river, they found, to their consternation, as Bonaparte at Leipsic, the bridge broken down. The fracture had been begun by the rabble, who had been driven out, that the Spaniards might not pursue them [145]. The garrison of Pavia had completed the destruction [146]; a doom of instant fate to thousands! Large bodies of the fugitives rushing on to reach it, perished in the river, as they trampled over its fragments; others were pushed into the stream by the impetuosity of their pursuers, and great numbers were slaughtered on its banks. Francis had arrived at the fatal spot, but to find no passage from it. He was soon surrounded by a concourse from which no valor could long extricate him. He fought with infuriated and unabating courage, wild with the disaster and disappointment, careless of death, and not unwilling to share it with his best friends who were falling in unavailing efforts to preserve him [147]. He got out of the press a short time, but four Spanish arquebussiers pursued him. They knew not who he was, but they saw a rich dress, and the collar of St. Michael, and called upon him to surrender. He gave no answer, and striving to pass the outside one

[145] Lett. Princ. 71. Sandoval, p. 641.

[146] P. Martyr makes Leyva to have broken down the bridge. p. 484.

[147] Jean de Tournon, in his letter to the Viconte de Turenne, mentions that Francis slew seven persons with his own hand; five before his horse fell, and two afterwards. M. Bellay, Observ. p. 509. If he did so, the mind recoils at such feats from 'le gentil François.' Homicide confers no honor; nor can the heart meet in society that man, with pleasure, who has been a personal destroyer of his fellow creatures. The Latin MS. remarks, 'some say the king might have escaped if he had chosen,' Vitell. B. 7. p. 80.

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who had discharged his weapon, the man struck its butt end violently on his horse, which felled it. The king sank down with the dying animal into a ditch. As he fell, an officer, with some of Pescara's light cavalry, reached the spot, and marked his fine apparel. Not yet guessing the prize, but glancing at the ransom, he told the Spaniards they should share the booty if they would not kill him; Francis spoke not, nor was known. He was now lying insensible, oppressed by his horse. At this juncture Pomperand, the friend of Bourbon, and who had escaped with him, recognised his former sovereign, but concealing his knowledge, ordered the soldiers to pass on and pursue the victory, as their captive was already dead. The men then insisted on stripping him, when Pomperand, seeing the viceroy coming near, rode suddenly up to him, and revealed the state of the king of France. Lannoy hurried to the spot, removed the dead bodies that had last perished to protect him, and raising him up from under his steed, recalled him to sensibility, asked him if he was the king, and desired him to surrender. Francis faintly inquired the rank of his questioner, and finding it to be the viceroy, said, that he surrendered himself to the emperor [148]. The viceroy kissed his hand with great reverence, and as such received him [149]. He was immediately disarmed to his hosen and jacket, and carefully examined. He had been struck by many balls on his breast-plate, but its strength had pre-

[148] We derive these interesting particulars from the letter in the Lett. Princ. p. 70, 71. The person named here as a servitor of Bourbon, we find from Bellay to have been Mons. Pomperand. Sandoval names him De la Motte, p. 641, 2.

[149] Guicciard. p. 119.

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vented their penetration [150]. Two wounds only were observed on his face and hand [151]. He was conducted from the bloody field to a monastery near Pavia, and there served respectfully at his refreshment by both the viceroy and Bourbon, the latter standing alone a long time reasoning with him, in answer to his reproaches.

He ascribed his defeat to the ill behaviour of the Swiss [152]; and when he went over the dismal scene on the following morning, and saw his gens d'armes lying in their regular ranks, exclaimed with a sigh, "If all my Swiss had done their duty like these brave men, the Spaniards would have been my prisoners instead of me being theirs [153]." He wrote to his mother a few expressive words; "All is lost but my honor [154];"

[150] Pet. Mart. 484.

[151] Lett. Pr. 71. Sandoval mentions the particulars stated by Lord Herbert: 'The first of the chief commanders that came in was the marquis de Pescara; after him, Guasto and others. At last, Bourbon, armed cap-à-pee, and with his sword bloody in his hand, approached the king, who demanded his name. Being told, he stepped a little behind Pescara, who perceiving the king troubled, went to Bourbon, and demanded his sword. The duke gave it, and running to the king, and lifting up his beaver, cast himself on his knees, and humbly demanded the royal hand to kiss. The king refused. Hereupon, Bourbon, with tears in his eyes, said, 'Sir! if you would have followed my counsel, you should not have needed to be in this estate; nor so much blood of the French nobility shed as stains the fields of Italy.' The king, turning his eyes up to heaven, replied only, 'Patience! since fortune has failed me!!' Farther discourse was hindered by Pescara, who desiring the king to mount on horseback, conducted him towards Pavia.' Herb. Hist. 166. Sandov. p. 644.

[152] The second Epistle in Lett. Prin. p. 71; and so Russell wrote, 'The French king layeth the fault in his Swiss, for that he hath lost the battle, saying, that they did not their part as they should have done.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 78.

[153] M. Bellay, p. 395, note. 6,000 Grisons had left him five days before the battle, because one of their posts had been surprised. ib. 385.

[154] Frandsberg, who was in the battle, says, 'The French king behaved as valiantly as possible, but the pressure of people on him made his efforts vain.' MS. p. 63. The only Spanish officer of note that was

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an ingenious distinction for self comfort in a calamity which left the mind no resource but in its self love. Thrown down, so contrary to his own anticipations, from the highest pinnacle of worldly greatness to the lowest condition of human life, a captive; and forced to brood on the most piercing of all mental exasperations, that the degradation had been hurled upon him by a vindictive and now triumphant kinsman, countryman, friend and subject; no external circumstances could yield consolation. Whenever, in the anguish of his lacerated mind, he turned to consider from whence the dart of fire had been thrown into his agitated heart, the acclaiming voices of the exulting enemy around announced to him that it was Bourbon--the man whose complaints he had disregarded—whose resentment he had dared—whose power he had despised—whom he had exiled as an outlaw, and publicly denounced as a traitor. This affronted, unpardoned, and unpardoning individual, had counselled, and led, amid perils and difficulties that few would have faced, and fewer overcome, a desperate assault, which abased and debilitated the king, whom natural birth, social allegiance, and patriotic sympathies, ought to have induced him to have defended and upheld. It must have been misery in its most sensitive form, for Francis to have seen his most attached, and heroic friends fall bleeding by his side one after another in unavailing

killed, don Fernand Castriot, the marquis of St. Angelo, was thought by the Spaniards to have fallen by the French king's hand. Pet. Mart. 484. That Francis was taken four miles from his camp, as the Lettere de Principi intimates, is mentioned by the bishop of Bath, in his letter from Rome, 28th Feb. Vitell. B. 7. p. 71.

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efforts to rescue and to preserve him. But could Bourbon see or know that the corpses of Tremouille, Bonnivet, and all the gallant men who, rather than abandon, had chosen to perish for their country and their king, were lying on the sanguinary field, and feel no remorse, no regret, no self-reproach? His nature and his ancestry were too noble for such insensibility. The humiliation of his sovereign was so manifestly to all, both his glory and his disgrace, that his own bosom must have been affected by the insuppressible contrast. He must have read the feeling that he was a traitor, in every eye that approached with its congratulating voice. It was his talents, not his probity, which had triumphed. Bayard's fame, the "chevalier sans reproche," could never become the undying epithet of his name; nor would the laurel of the great captain remove from his brow the brand, that he had earned it by the sacrifice of his personal honor.

France, stunned and mortified, was shaken by the tidings with a consternation that high and low alike participated. The bravest chieftains had fallen. Its noblest families had to mourn dead relations, and every class looked forward to the greatest national calamities [155]. The imperial army had not lost one

[155] Admiral Bonnivet had fallen near the king; so Tremouille and many of the nobility. Chabannes had perished against Leyva and the garrison of Pavia. Bell. 392, 3. The estimate made by the Spanish officers who went the next day over the field, was, that from Pavia to Certosa, an extent of five miles, 12 or 13,000 dead bodies were lying; and from the intelligence they received, they inferred that 7,000 others had perished in the river, or been killed by the country people. Lett. Princ. 71. Guicciardini reduces the slain to 8,000; Frandsberg to 10,000. p. 63. Peter Martyr raises it to 25,000 in the field, and 5,000 in the Ticino. p. 484. Sir John Russell's dispatch from Milan, of 11th March, when there had been full time to get accurate particulars, in-

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thousand men. Pescara was wounded in two places, and Leyva slightly in his leg[156]. The Spaniards continued the pursuit of the fugitives for one hundred miles, killing and slaying without mercy[157]. Such are the feelings of war, and such was the generosity of the conquerors towards the helpless, powerless, and miserable remains of the kingly host they had defeated. But it is in his martial ferocity that man most belies his true nature, and revolts most offensively from his beneficent Creator.

Trivulci evacuated Milan the same day, and the unexpected news was dispatched to the half-despondding emperor. It did not reach him until some days after it had become known to the chief courts in Europe. The victory had occurred on his birthday, as he was completing his twenty-sixth year; but although in the most exciteable prime of young manhood, he received the animating tidings, so calculated to rouse every feeling of ambitious exultation,

formed Henry, 'It is said here, that there was slain in the field 12,000 men, besides divers that were drowned in the Ticino fleeing, which are found daily and of great number. There were taken prisoners 10,000, and the most part were men of war, and the other rascals; to whom the duke of Bourbon hath given passports.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 78.

[156] Guicciard. L. 15. N° 121. He says, 'The plunder was so great, that never were soldiers made so rich in Italy before.' ib.

[157] Lett. Russell MS. p. 78. Frondsberg thought the French army much more numerous than the imperialists. 'Le grand nombre des gens de chevaux et a pied François, j'estime a beaucoup plus gros que le notre.' MS. ib. p. 63. Hall, apparently from some information, states, that after deducting Albany's detachment 'there remained with the French king, 49,950 men, whereof was taken 14,000 and more.' p. 693. But he does not allow for those who had perished in the siege. The nearest approach to truth may be, to consider the French army that was collected in the camp before the battle to have been from 30 to 35,000 men, and their antagonists from 5 to 10,000 less. Therefore, as Francis could not foresee the panic of the Swiss, neither he nor his admiral were unreasonable in expecting a victory. Till these gave way, so contrary to their usual character, even the imperialists confess that the issue was more than doubtful.

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with a dignity, a piety, and a moderation, too immediate to be theatrical, and too well sustained to be hypocrisy. It is described by the English ambassador on the same day that he witnessed it; and it will be justice to the strength of intellect which produced the instantaneous self-command, to recollect, that few could have equalled what all may appreciate, and what most will applaud[158]. It was the more creditable, because no nation loved pomp, spectacles, and personal triumph and self gratulation more than the Spaniards; or would have more delighted in vaunting over the humiliation of France[159].

[158] Dr. Sampson on 15th March sent to Wolsey these particulars from Madrid: 'The victory happened on Charles's birth-day, when he became twenty-five. The account did not reach Madrid till 10th March. The English ambassador went the same night to congratulate him. The emperor 'first answered, that without fail the news were very good and joyful, and so his very hope was that such effect would follow to his friends and all Christendom.' He added many remarks of grateful piety. The ambassador strongly mentions the pleasure he had to hear and perceive his 'moderation of gesture, countenance, and as it seemed also, of inward intent and mind.'—'I assure your grace there was no more semblance in him of arrogance or change of manners to joy effusely, either in word or countenance, than if no such great thing had chanced; but ever in his words, with humble visage, he referred every thing to God, so thanking him for the same.'

Dr. Sampson was informed by two gentlemen of his palace, that 'immediately after the first knowledge of this news, sole he entered into his privy-chamber, and there was a good space upon his knees. When advised by some to make great triumph for this victory, he expressly commanded that no such thing should be; but since it had been God's pleasure to give him such a victory, the next day with a general procession, he would only give thanks to him. He went to this in a cap of black frieze, without any more semblance of triumph, and said, 'I would that we should make it more solemn with good inward devotion than with any manner of outward pomp.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. 1 Ellis, 260–7.

[159] Brantome's essay on the rhodomontadoes of the Spaniards, shows their national spirit on their warlike achievements. Lord Berners has described some of the emperor's pacific and sacerdotal festivities, in the following letter from Saragossa, 2d July 1519: 'The king, with his sister, chancellor, and many great estates, lieth still at Saragossa, where have lately been many great triumphs for his pleasure; upon Corpus Christi day, a marvellous, goodly, great procession, the king himself, with all temporal ambassadors here, and other estates, to the number.

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of twenty-four, throughout the town, bore the canopy over the sacrament; and the Sunday following, in the market place, the king present, with all the others, there were upon a scaffold four pageants: the death of John the Baptist; the authority of the church committed to the apostles; the ascension; and the day of judgment.

'Upon Midsummer-day in the morning, the king and twenty-three with him, well apparelled in coats and clokes of gold and goldsmith's work, on horseback, in the said market-place, ran and cast canes, after the country manner; whereat the king did very well; much praised. A fresh fight, to behold for once or twice, and afterwards nothing; as soon as the cane is cast, they fly. Whereof the French ambassador said, 'that it was a good game to teach men to fly.' My lord Barnes answered, 'that the Frenchmen learned it well beside Gyngate at the tourney of the Spurs.'

'The same day at afternoon, in the market place, was bull-baiting with men; and after these came in 40 noblemen on horseback, marvellously richly apparelled, and none of that which was in the aforenoon, in cloth of tissue, cloth of gold, and of damask, with goldsmith's work enough; with high horses of much body, and played at canes as before.' Harl. MS. N° 295. p. 120.

NOTE ON POLE.

Pole, or the White Rose, the Pretender against Henry, who was called King of the Scots, did not fall in the battle, but afterwards. Sandoval mentions, that when the army was broken up, he put on the green coat of a servant, and throwing away his helmet, endeavoured to escape. He met on his way a company of peasants, and desired one to show him the road to Vigeva, giving him a gold chain, and promising him two hundred ducats when he arrived there. This liberality tempted the man to be a villain. As they came to a bog, the peasant treacherously bade him strike across it. He rode boldly into it, as desired, and suddenly his horse sank to his belly in a quagmire. The wretch waited for this incident, and as Pole was struggling in the marshy ground, clove his head with a hatchet. But the justice of the commiserating enemy, punished the perfidious crime. The clown boasting of the feat, it became known, and he was hanged for the treachery. Sandoval, Vol. 1. p. 646.

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CHAP. XIV.

BOURBON'S PROPOSALS TO HENRY—SCHEMES OF THE ITALIAN POWERS AGAINST THE EMPEROR—COMMOTIONS IN ENGLAND—WOLSEY'S SECRET INTERCOURSE WITH FRANCE—CONFERENCES OF THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS WITH THE POPE—FRENCH KING'S PROPOSALS—HIS REMOVAL TO SPAIN.

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THE production of this splendid victory was attributed principally to the duke of Bourbon[1]; and the Spaniards, changing from dislike into admiration from their joy at having taken or killed three kings, and nearly every captain in the French army[2], made songs upon him of extravagant encomium[3]. But altho he feasted on this applause, and from natural generosity

[1] Russell's report was, 'They gave Mr. De Bourbon a great praise, and say that he did very manlily the same day, and that he was one of the causes that the said battle was won: for if he had not been, there had been no battle given.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 78. Frondsberg, who had led part of the lansquenets, and felt its difficulties, considered it to be 'une merveilleuse victoire, laquelle a été plus miraculeusement que aultre.'—MS. ib. p. 63.

[2] The king of Navarre was taken with the king of France, and to make a triad of defeated monarchs, the bishop of Bath says, they called 'La Rose Blanche—king of the Scots.' MS. ib. p. 71. Guicciardini remarks, that almost all the captains that were not killed were taken; the pope's nuncio also, an unfit associate of a battle. The viceroy set him at liberty. L. 15. p. 120.

[3] They placed him above the greatest Roman and Carthaginian generals:

Calla! Calla! Julio Cæsar, Hannibal y Scipion!
Viva la fama de Bourbon!

Silence! Silence! Julius Cæsar, Hannibal, and Scipio!
Live now the fame of Bourbon!

Brantome, V. 4. p. 247.

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was releasing many of his prisoners on their parole [4], yet, while all Europe was in astonishment, and all France in dismay, his resentment was still too fierce to be satisfied with seeing his king in a prison near him, or with the celebrity of having caused the humiliating mortification He meditated yet to dethrone him; to invade his forsaken country, and to transfer his sceptre to a foreign hand. On 10th March 1525, he wrote to Henry [5] his desire to pursue the enterprises, on which he had conferred at length with sir John Russell, and authenticated that gentleman's communications, to which he referred the king [6]. The English envoy informed his sovereign, that these were, to make him speedily the king of France, on receiving supplies for a moderate army [7]; and to urge, while the duke himself penetrated from

[4] 'He hath bound the gentlemen and captains by their oaths, to make no war nor bear harness in France against no man for twelve months, and the other men of war for five months, and the residue for three months; as for the great personages taken, it be agreed between the duke, the viceroy and the marquis Pescara, that none of them shall as yet be put to ransom, nor until they know further of the emperor's pleasure.' Russ. Lett. p. 78.

[5] This original epistle is in the British Museum. He acknowledges the receipt of the king's letters of 15th January, by Russell. He alludes to Pace having written his majesty on 'la bonne fortune et victoire qu'il a plut a notre seigneur nous donner contre nos enemis, de la quelle vous ai averti. Vous et votre bon conseil pouvez assez entendre ce que est notre façon pour le pavachement des communs affaires.' MSS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 76.

[6] He adds, 'Desquels ai eu ample debat avec le dit M. Russell, lequel je suis sure vous avertira bien au long de tout choses; qui sont cause que je ne vous ferai long lettre.' MSS. ib. 76.

[7] 'I find him firmly prefixed to follow his enterprizes against the French king, and never better willing; saying, that if your highness will, he will set the crown of France upon your head, and that shortly; and that there may be more done now with 100,000 crowns for the obtaining of that, than before might have been done with 500,000 crowns. Wherefore his desire is, that it will please your highness to furnish payment for 12,000 foot and 500 men at arms for two months, which amounteth to 200,000 crowns.' Russ. Lett. 11th March, MS. ib. p. 77.

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the Alps[8], a co-operating descent, with an English army, from our insular channel[9]. He wished now to rely on Henry alone, that he might not again be counteracted by the malice or inability of others[10]. But he required his English friend to obtain for him the requisite artillery[11].

The French king was conducted to Cremona, and thence to the castle of Pizzighitone, where he was consigned to the care of the captain D'Alarcon, who continued in the charge of him during all his captivity, with a guard of two hundred men at arms, and one thousand four hundred Spaniards, to watch and secure him[12]. From this time he never looked on Bourbon, or only to cast upon him a glance of disdain, till at one turn of the negotiations for his release he suddenly smiled, talked and dallied with him very familiarly[13]. But the hope of release which

[8] 'And himself will furnish the said army of payment for one month at his being in France, with which company he will repair and pass thro Dauphiny, and that by Savoy and Burgundy.' Russ. Lett. 11th March, MS. Vitell. p. 77.

[9] 'He desireth to know where and to what point your highness will repair with your army, to the intent, that if case require, he may join with you; and thinketh that your own person shall do much in this affair.' Lett. ib.

[10] 'If your highness please that he march into France, he saith, he will trust to your highness, and to no man else: for if contribution be made to be paid by the viceroy or others in these parts, he saith, they will handle him as they did at his being in Provence; and rather than he would take and suffer such dishonor as he did there, he had lever to be dead.' Lett. ib.

[11] 'He can nor may carry none artillery out of Italy. In case he pass by Burgogne, he wotteth not how to have artillery to follow and maintain his said enterprise; unless your highness might so deal with the archduke, that he would be contented to let him have it with munitions in a town called Brisac, where he hath good store.' Lett. 11th March, MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 77.

[12] Pace's letter, 12th March, from Venice. MS. ib. p. 83.

[13] B. Bath's Letter, MS. ib. 126. Lord Herbert notices, from Sandoval, that 'Francis was used with all respect. Lannoy before supper brought the basin, the marquis of Guasto the ewer, and Bourbon the

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had inspired this change, darkening in disappointment, Francis relapsed into his contemptuous physiognomy. CHAP. XIV.

The triumphs of one nation are usually as displeasing to others as they are gratifying to itself. Charles had obtained by his army a brilliant success, which, by its completeness, astonished alike himself, the defeated, and all Europe, but which did not gain him one friend amid the many congratulators, whose voices were modulated by hope, fear, and courtesy, into emulous compliments. The first rumors of the extraordinary advantages had scarcely echoed thro Italy, but a desire to form hostile combinations against him accompanied the tidings. Before the English ambassador at Rome could obtain a certainty of the victory [14], he was able to send his court an intimation of this resisting disposition, which he foresaw would interfere with the spoliation of France [15]. Within three weeks after a catastrophe that might have been expected to have extinguished all love of

towel; which courtesy he requited by inviting them to sit at table with him. After which, requiring some money might be furnished to him for play, he passed away the time the most cheerfully he could.' Hist. p. 166.

[14] On 28th February, Bath expressed from Rome, that for two days a continual fame had run that the French king was taken, with a number of his nobility; 'of which conflict is yet no certainty, but sundry letters telling sundry tales.' Bath's Lett. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 66.

[15] He added, 'Many here be right glad of the French king's overthrow; but they be all right sorry to be thus left in prey of the Spanish people, surely, for their cruel demeanor, most hated by all nations. If they did not hope verily, that by the king's highness' wise and politic handling, the Spaniard should somewhat be stayed, the powers of Italy, with the pope, would not fail but gather themselves, and do as well as they could for their defence; whereby the emperor might have enough to do here still in Italy for many months; and by this means, the emperor, embusied still in and about with these immortal and endless matters of Italy, should not now conveniently attend upon the enterprize of France; which if it should now be pretermitted, let men never look to have the like.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 67.

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the sword in such an example of its fatal vicissitudes, the Venetians and Florentines were in arms, and called on the pope to be again the warrior, and, for their general protection, to head a league to resist the emperor's demands [16]. They computed the troops they could embody [17]; they desired England to patronise the new hostilities [18]; and it required all the eloquence and wisdom of the English ambassador to impress the pope effectually with his own danger, even from his confederates success [19], and to induce him, for his own sake, to arrest the pugnacious irritability, the precipitate self alarm, and the danger-creating jealousy with which all Italy was beginning

[16] On 19th March the bishop wrote, 'the Venetians and Florentines, seeing themselves now in the discretion of the imperials, whom they have not best entreated, be in great fear; and therefore they not only arm, but have been in hand vehemently with the pope, that he should do in like manner. They have now a description of great and high matter with his holiness, as he showed unto me; which is, to take no man's right from him, but to maintain and defend their own; and that if the imperials would demand any thing of them, it might boldly be answered them, that they should nothing have.' Bath's Lett. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 85.

[17] The prelate subjoins, 'the effect is, that the pope, Venetians, Florentines, the duke of Ferrara and the signores of Sienna, Lucca and Mantua, with other mean powers of Italy, should make a league for its defence and liberation. It is reckoned, that amongst them they shall make 2,000 horse, 15,000 Swiss, and as many more footmen of Italy as should be necessary.' MS. ib. p. 85.

[18] He then details the territorial advantages which each of the combining powers were to have for their league; adding, 'the pope declared unto me this devise;' whom he assured, that Henry 'would not see his holiness in any manner outraged.' Ib. p. 86.

[19] The bishop reports, I shewed that per case, against all likelihood, the powers of Italy with the help of his highness (Henry) should be able to keep the emperor out of Italy; yet he (the pope) should not, among these self-same powers of Italy, be in the best case: and thereupon I put his holiness in remembrance how the Venetians had in time past encroached upon the lands of the church, witholding from it by force Imola, Ravenna, and others in Romania. So the duke of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio, the Bentivoglii, Bologna and the Balions, Perusa, &c. Now the church was never able to subdue them, but was ever in continual business, unquietness and war, unto such time as other princes laid to their hands.' MS. ib. p. 87.

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to be contagiously affected [20]. He reasoned till he alarmed the pontiff [21]. The unsafe and unwise excitation was at last suspended by the pope's hope of easy terms [22]. Bourbon wrote to the cardinal Medici an assurance, that the pope's dominions should be safe [23]. Heavy contributions being imposed upon all the discontented states as the price of peace and forbearance [24]; each was left without any territorial curtailment; and a treaty of amity and alliance to quiet all, was made at Rome, between the pope, the archduke, and the emperor [25], to which, for his sovereign, the English ambassador thought it most creditable to accede [26]. It was intended that the league

[20] 'I showed his holiness that the pope of Rome was *never like a pope*, till he had the concurrence of other princes; whereof whensoever his holiness should be totally deprived, there was no doubt that shortly after, there should be found right many meaner powers in Italy that *would plume his feathers*, and not set a groat by him; especially the Venetians, of whom his holiness ought of all men to beware; for their power should greatly increase their wars.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 87.

[21] His holiness said, 'He saw the inconvenience that might follow by this their device many manner of ways; and thanked God, who had put him in mind not to follow the same. And so still his holiness persevereth in mind to enter what league soever shall be thought best to the king's highness and to the emperor.' MS. ib. p. 87.

[22] Bath then mentions to Wolsey, 'assuring your grace, that in my opinion there is nothing that stayeth the pope in the not entering this league, but only his hope and trust in the king to be a mean that this victory, in every behalf concerning the matter of Italy, shall be moderately used. As for the matters of France, his holiness reckoneth not greatly how you determine them.' MS. ib. 88.

[23] See his original letter, dated Milan, 24th March 1525, in MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 93; and another one to the marquis Palvisin, stating the emperor's army to be at Runoll. p. 94.

[24] On the 6th April the bishop of Bath, from his 'secret means,' stated them to be, 'the pope and Florentines, 100,000 ducats; the Venetians, 150,000; the duke of Ferrara, 150,000; and the cities of Mantua, Lucca, Sienna, Genoa, Saluzze and Montserrat, at least 100,000.' MS. ib. 103. 'And besides this, they have in sundry cities in the duchy of Milan since the victory, large sums of money, at the least three or four score thousand ducats; and daily there cometh in more to them,' MS. ib. 104.

[25] It is in MS. ib. p. 95, dated Rome, 1st April.

[26] The prelate mentioned, 'the king's highness hath an honourable

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should be offensive and defensive for the tranquillity of Italy[27]; but Clement VII, and the duke of Ferrara, attempted a competition of bribery with the emperor, to get by his aid a portion of each other's territories[28]. So honest, sincere and cordial were these machinating confederates.

The imperial army, although enriched from the plunder of the royal camp, soon became clamorous for their arrears; and four thousand Germans mutinied against the viceroy for want of money. Lannoy solicited Henry to consider the danger they were all in from this destitution[29]. To appease the military discontent by giving them good quarters, the duke of Bourbon distributed the largest portion of the army in the territories of Parma and Placentia. But as these were part of the temporal possessions which the pope had acquired, he complained bitterly and repeatedly, that since their victory, these troops had eaten and destroyed there above the value of two hundred thousand ducats. He declared, that if they continued longer, these places would be ruined for ever; and he called upon the imperial general for

part and memory in the same league, without charge, and therefore I did accept it, though I have no commission.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 104. The pope took care to insert in this treaty a persecuting article. This states that as many were risen up who 'maligned the Catholic faith, and lacerate it with malignity and malevolence, therefore the emperor, Henry, and the archduke, should promise to repress them.' ib.

[27] 'By this,' says Russell, on 25th April, 'in case the emperor should be invaded in Italy, the pope is bound, at his proper costs, to aid him with 2,000 foot and 500 horse.' MS. ib. 126.

[28] Thus Russell reports, that 'the pope would have given the emperor 200,000 ducats, if he would have delivered to him Reggio and another little town of the duke of Ferrara;' who, in the same spirit of pillage, offered to pay Charles 200,000 more than his exacted contribution, 'so that he will deliver to him Modena, which the pope holdeth now.' Russell's Lett. MS. ib. p. 126.

[29] Bath's letter, 19th March. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 84.

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the fulfilment of the new league by their removal[30], a relief which, till the soldiers could be paid the arrears they demanded, no voice or arm had the power to compel.

During these proceedings, the French regency was carrying on the most anxious negotiations for the release of its king. The viceroy's sister having married in France, she was employed to interest her brother's favor. Many secretaries from Paris were admitted. Letters were brought to him, which on one occasion he gave the king to read, who was observed to rejoice at their contents, to embrace Lannoy, and then to retire with him to a private chamber, in secret conference, for five hours. This intercourse excited suspicion and mistrust. Bourbon and Pescara assured the English envoy that they condemned it, and that the emperor was ignorant of it[31]. But their discussions with Lannoy only produced personal rudeness, which they with difficulty endured. The English envoy too much alarmed to recollect how much humanity graces victory, declared that the French king had too much freedom of communication[32]. But Louisa, his tender and anguished mother, was indefatigable in her applications to every quarter from which she could gain her son a

[30] Bath's letter, 6th April. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 104.

[31] See minute report on the viceroy's conduct, in same MS. p. 100–2.

[32] On 11th May, sir John Russell informed Wolsey from Milan, 'I assure your grace the French king hath too much his liberty; for that so many messages be suffered to come and go between him and his mother, by reason hereof he is ascertained of all their doings in France, and giveth his advice as well as tho he were there present.' MS. ib. p. 119.

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friend; and consulting only her own heart, even projected to become herself its personal negotiator[33].

For a week after the first accounts had reached England of the Pavian victory, no further news arrived, till, on the 16th March, a dispatch came to the king from the duke of Bourbon himself, which he immediately took to the queen's chamber to read, and to whom its bearer described the incidents of the battle[34]. Doubt thus ending in certainty, ambassadors were hastened to Spain to concert a plan for entering France on every side[35]; while Wolsey, in his address to the lord mayor and common council of London, quoting the poet's remark, that "it is more mastery to use victory gotten than to get it," informed them, that the king thought it necessary to prepare immediately a royal army, and to cross the sea for the recovery of his right inheritance of the crown of France, and all that England had once held on its shores[36]. The cardinal, seizing the popula-

[33] Bath reports that he had just left the pope. 'I learnt nothing, but that he had advice that the French king's mother is determined to go herself to the emperor, partly to move, as mother, the more pity in her son's calamities; partly because she thinketh herself most best skilled to handle this matter with the emperor. His holiness said, he thought the matter had need of other help, than of woman's tears.' MS. Vit, B. 7. p. 90.

[34] Hall, 693. The news was so rapidly spread thro England, that on 12th March 1525, Lud. Vives wrote from Oxford to Henry 8th, a letter of congratulation; and to the honor of literature, altho a Spaniard, and living here on Henry's patronage, and upon his favor, yet, without considering the king's politics or passions, urging him to have compassion on the prostrate foe. 'Charles has taken Francis prisoner. You come into some partnership of his glory; but I hope you will exert your endeavors, that all now living, and that posterity, to whom the fame of such an action will flow, may perceive that you have not only him in your power, but also yourself.' He then entreats him to pity France, and to procure peace for it. Epist. 3.

[35] Hall, 694.

[36] Hall, 695.

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rity of the moment, levied large sums for this project by illegal and unconstitutional commissions, to the great displeasure of the nation[37]. The angry spirit which the execution excited made it dangerous to enforce it. The king denied the knowlege of the requisition, and sent his letters thro the kingdom, declaring, "that he would demand no sum certain, but such as his loving subjects would grant to him of their good minds, toward the maintenance of his wars[38]." The cardinal had the assurance, on 26th April, to take to himself the merit of this abrogation of his own levy[39]. But insurrections arose in the

[37] 'How the great men took it, was marvel. The poor cursed; the rich repugned; the light wits railed, and in conclusion, all people cursed the cardinal, as subverter of the laws and liberty of England. For they said, 'If men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France; and so England would be bond and not free.' Hall, 696.

[38] Hall, 697. The demand made was a sixth part of their goods.

[39] Hall, 698. But altho the exaction was turned into a voluntary benevolence, we have a specimen how far it was safe for any one to use his free will, as to the gift on such occasions, in what occurred in 1544, to alderman Reed, who, because he would not be liberal, was forced into personal service. The document published by Mr. Lodge, thus states the transaction, and its official vindication. It is the government letter to the militaty commandant of the northern district:—

'The king, being burthened with the inestimable charge of his wars, hath for the maintenance thereof, required lately a contribution by way of benevolence. He began the execution thereof, first, with us of his grace's council, whom his majesty, according unto our most bounden duties, found in such conformity as we trust was to his grace's contentation. From us proceeding to the citizens of London, he found them also, upon such declaration as was made of the necessity of the thing, as honestly inclined, to the uttermost of their powers, as they saw the requisite to be grounded upon most reasonable causes. Only one there was, named Richard Reed, an alderman of London, who (notwithstanding such necessary persuasions and declarations, as for the purpose were at great length showed unto him; and the consent also, and the conformity thereunto, of all his company) stood alone in the refusal of the same not only himself, upon a disobedient stomach; but thereby also giving example, as much as in one man might, to breed a like deformity in a great many of the rest. And, forasmuch as for the defence of the realm and himself, and for the continuance of his quiet life, he could not find in his heart to disburse a little quantity of his substance, his

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eastern counties from the public discontent. In Suffolk, its duke ordered the people to be disarmed, which increased the flame; and four thousand men appeared immediately in warlike array, who were daily joined by numerous coadjutors. The duke summoned a force to oppose them; but a small number only came to him, and even these chose to state, that they would defend him from all perils if he hurt not their neighbors, but that against these they would never fight. All that he could do was to break down the bridges, to prevent their uniting congregation [40].

In Norfolk, its duke, who was high treasurer and admiral of England, expostulated with the insurgents, and enquired their intent. They assured him that they would live and die in the king's cause, and to the king be obedient. On his desire that their captain should explain their purpose, an aged man, of

majesty hath thought it much reason to cause him to do some service for his country with his body, whereby he might somewhat be instructed of the difference between the sitting quietly in his house, and the travail and danger which others daily sustain, from which he hath been hitherto maintained in the same. For this purpose, his grace hath thought good to send him unto your school, as you shall perceive by such letters as he shall deliver unto you; there to serve as a soldier, both he and his men, at his own charge; requiring not only, as you shall have occasion, to send forth to any place for the doing of any enterprize upon the enemy, to cause him to ride forth to the same, and to do in all things as other soldiers are appointed to do, without respect; but also to bestow him in such a place in garrision, as he may feel what pains other poor soldiers abide abroad in the king's service, and know the smart of his folly and sturdy disobedience. Finally, you must use him in all things after the sharp military discipline of the northern wars.' Lodge's Illustrations, V. 1. p. 843. By the letter of the Lords, of 18th March 1544, we find that the issue to the poor fellow was, that he was taken prisoner. The king then took pity on him. They say, 'It appeareth, that among others, Reed, the alderman of London, is prisoner in Scotland. His highness's pleasure is, that if there may be any good mean devised for his *redeeming*, that your lordship shall also take such good order for getting of him again, as you shall think most convenient.' ib. p. 102.

[40] Hall, 700.

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about fifty years old, begged permission to reply. It was granted with good will, and he made a short and impressive speech: "My lord! our captain is Poverty; he and his cousin Necessity have brought us to this doing. We, all these persons, live not of ourselves, but by the subtantial occupiers of this country. If they by whom we live be brought to that case, that they of their little cannot help us to earn our living, then must we perish and die miserably. The cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number, from work; the husbandmen have put away their servants, and given up household; they say the king asketh so much, that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity we must die wretchedly[41]." The duke desired them to separate, and he would intercede in their behalf. The matter was discussed in the cabinet. The historian, who was then living, thus describes the result: "The demand of money ceased in all the realm; for well it was perceived, that the commons would none pay. The king openly declared, that his mind was never to ask any thing of his commons which might sound to his dishonor or to the breach of his laws. He was sore moved that his subjects were thus stirred, and said, 'I will no more of this trouble; let letters be sent to all shires, that this matter may no more be spoken of. I will pardon all that have denied the demand[42].'" Thus by a public spirited wisdom, in which Charles I.

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[41] Hall, 700.

[42] Hall, 700. The cardinal excused himself to the king, by stating, that his counsel and the judges had said, he might lawfully demand any sum by commission; and that the ecclesiastics had encouraged it by citing Joseph's taking a fifth part of their property from the Egyptians.

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was, in a similar conjuncture deficient, Henry prevented that disloyalty and danger, which in the events that soon followed, might have overturned his throne.

In the first ebullitions of the aggrandising hope, which the downfal of Francis had occasioned, Henry sent his ambassadors to lady Margaret, with instructions to congratulate her on "the repressing of the inordinate pride and insatiable ambition of him who was the common enemy and general disturber of all peace, rest and tranquillity;" to intimate the general danger, "as long as the realm of France, situate in the heart and middle of all Christendom, should remain in the hands of those who would never cease to apply their wit and power, to ampliate and extend their limit and dominions; to assert his right to Normandy, Gascony, Guyenne, and Anjou; to sound the imperial cabinet on this subject; to make 'convenient pauses,' to observe how these successive suggestions were received; and to concert accordingly their future campaign[43]."

They found neither cordiality nor confidence. The cardinal's secret negotiations with Joachimo; the withholding the money in Italy, till the want of it had nearly broken up the army; the inefficiency of all that England had done, except in its subsidies; the impossibility of trusting Wolsey; the desire of Charles to gain first, from France, his own exclusive advantages; the incompatibility of Henry's views and his own; and a strong feeling of the lofty position into which his victory and his prisoner had

[43] These instructions to Fitzwilliam and Wingfield, dated April 1525, are in the British Museum. MS. Galba, B. 8. p. 143, 4.

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exalted him, abated the emperor's civilities to the cardinal, and his intimacy with Henry. His personal correspondence with the English minister nearly ceased. He gave no yielding ear to his suggestions; and before the summer had half elapsed, Wolsey no longer found in the emperor a flatterer, a friend or a supporter[44]. Joachimo again came to England from the lady Louisa, and a truce for forty days from the 13th of July[45], announced a beginning change in the cabinet policy. This was imitated by a truce of five months between France and the imperial government of Flanders. The president of Rouen came with large offers of pecuniary payment, to obtain a peace with England[46]; and the armistice was extended to December[47].

The capture of the French king had not annihilated France. Its army had disappeared, but its population remained. Its sovereign was a prisoner in a foreign castle, but its government was in the hands of wise and able statesmen[48]; and the executive power was not in vacancy, because the experienced

[44] I have not remarked any letters from Charles to Wolsey, in 1525, among the MS. documents of that year, in the British Museum. The first that occurs after the Pavian victory, is one of the 30th November 1526, which is a complimentary answer to the cardinal's epistle to him. MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 286.

[45] Hall, 704. M. Bellay, p. 6. Louisa's commission to Brion and Joachimo, to treat with Henry, dated 9th June 1525, is in Rymer, 14. p. 37.

[46] Hall, 704. On 16th August, Louisa signed the authority to bind her son to pay two millions of crowns of gold for this alliance, which Rymer has printed, p. 45.

[47] Hall, 705.

[48] Fleuranges, in 1516, thus drew the character of the treasurer Robertet; 'He governed the kingdom. He had seen much, both in the times of Charles 8th and of Louis 12th. He was a man of the best understanding I ever saw, and of the most excellent talent. While he was concerned in the affairs of France, and had the whole charge of them, they were amazingly well conducted.' Memoires, p. 158.

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queen mother was directing it. The elder heads of the great nobility and gentry had perished; but the country swarmed with their collateral branches, which the calamity raised into efficient stems. The middle and lower classes were stunned and mortified in their national feelings and patriotic vanity; but were neither injured nor endangered. Nothing was dislocated—nothing was altered. The alarms of imagination, speculating on the evils which might result, were the only disturbers of the country; and if Bourbon had been promptly enabled by Henry and Charles to make such an invasion as he recommended, while the public mind was oscillating in its apprehensions, the dynasty of the throne might have been changed, and some partitions of its territory might have resulted. But unless an hostile army of competent force should enter its plains, before time permitted its administration to re-organize, from its exhausted springs of war, an adequate resistance, France was safe, and likely to enjoy all its ordinary happiness, whatever diplomatists might menace, warriors plan, or fear, spleen and narrow judgments forebode.

The opposing courts, believing that the threat of performing what they could effect at the first interval of the crisis, would obtain all they wished, heard Bourbon's solicitation and advice with civil attention, but put into execution none of his ardent and sagacious recommendations. Both Henry and Charles had no objection to despoil Francis, but neither wished the other's aggrandizement, nor were inclined to take any risk to obtain it. Wolsey loved treaties better than battles. Soldiers obscured his name; but his

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pen flourished to his own satisfaction, in his tautological diplomacy, and his name became predominant over others, while the skirmishes were confined to the cabinet. Hence, tho armies, invasions, conquests and partitions were devised and talked of, no soldier moved, and no aggression was attempted. Happily for mankind, Henry had none of the inhuman qualities, the fierce spirit and persevering insensibility of a great and active conqueror [49]. He loved religion, mirth, company, schoolmen, books, festive jousting, banquets, learned men, literature, reputation, and his domestic enjoyments. He desired popularity both abroad and at home. But he took no pleasure in causing or contemplating fields of human slaughter, in assaulting towns, massacreing their defenders, burning villages, or laying a country waste. He had not, therefore, that strange induration of temper, which must have predominated in an Edward III. a Henry V. a Hannibal, an Alexander, a Cæsar, and a Bonaparte. In all such persons, the heart cannot have its due moral sensibility, nor the spirit any lasting sympathy for its kind; or war and battles would not be the delight of him who in the social hour claims and deserves the title of the civilized, the informed, and often courteous man or generous prince. We pardon and admire the protector of his country, or the deliverer of his species, from unjust invasion and oppression, because it is not they, but the aggressors they resist, who cause the dismal scenes that both philanthropy and reason abhor. But wars of kings and commonwealths for fame, territory,

[49] The enlightened pope Ganganelli well remarks, 'Heroism scarcely ever exists without atrocity. The high feats of all those conquerors who

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power or plunder, are so repugnant to every just principle of the reason and to the moral feelings of the heart, that we cannot but assert of all the conquerors who have disturbed the world, that in such actions they differed little, except in dress and shape, from the rabid monsters of the wildest forests. Shakespear, without perceiving the moral satire of his own thought, has made Henry V. animate his soldiers to the battle of Agincourt by a speech with this passage:—

> "In peace there nothing so becomes a man,
> As modest stillness and humility:
> But, when the blast of war blows in our ears,
> Then imitate the *action of the tyger:*
> Stiffen the sinews; summon up the blood;
> Resolve fair nature to hard featur'd rage."

It is therefore to the credit of Henry VIII. that, with all the temptation and means, and with much of the personal prowess of the renowned conquerors, whom literature too much loves to blazon, and youthful ardor to admire, he yet preserved himself from the contagion of their military disease. Sensibilities of the best description may be supposed to have had their efficacious influence within him, when fancy, altho amused and stimulated with the possibility of having the French crown glittering on his brow, was yet unable to excite him to those warlike exertions that could alone obtain it, notwithstanding his natural taste for all the glorious circumstances of war, and a gallant gentry's eagerness for its fame, its activity and its booty. The enlightened men of his day, who observed his conduct, and were personally

are extolled as prodigies of valor and genius, are commonly shaded by the blackest horrors.' V. 4. p. 94.

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acquainted with his disposition, remarked and praised its pacific tendency and his self-restraint. He was applauded for his desire to end, instead of spreading the calamities of war; and his ambitious inactivity was expressly referred to his preference for the arts and happiness of peace. If this had not been felt to be his character, literary men would not have presumed to write to him on such topics, nor to have presented him to their contemporaries as an example of these virtues[50].

In April, the emperor offered peace to France, and to the king his liberty, on the conditions of his marriage with Eleanora, the late queen of Portugal, and sister to Charles; the cession of Burgundy, and what its last duke enjoyed; the grant, to Henry, of Normandy, Gascony, and Guyenne; and the gift, to Bourbon, of all his former possessions, and of Provence in feudal sovereignty. The French regency answered, that there would be little or no difficulty as to the latter, but that the king of England's demands were too great, and that the French nation would never surrender Burgundy[51]. The viceroy, Bourbon, and a Spanish minister, went to Francis

[50] Thus Ludovicus Vives, who, as soon as he had heard of the result of the battle of Pavia, had written to Henry the letter in the preceding note 34, on the eighth of the following October addressed him from Bruges again on the same subject: 'You are he by whom we are made secure, both in public and in private; at our tables and in our bed. You are the sponsor of the laws to us all. You have produced peace; you first, by the gift of God, the author and conciliator of all peace and concord. Illustrious king! you have those qualities which make it delightful to me, who am most devoted and most affectionate to your majesty, at this time to write to you on war and peace. Receive these effusions with that kindness and courtesy of mind which my other compositions have experienced. All nations expect that you will complete the pacification you have commenced.' He then goes on to much valuable reflection on the blessings and duty of peace, and on the qualities and conduct that should distinguish a king. Epist. 5.

[51] Russell's Letter from Milan, 25th April. MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 126.

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with these offers, but he would not condescend to debate the matter, saying, "he was a prisoner, and that his deed was null, but what his mother and the council of France should do, he would be content with." But he wished the minister to treat of an arrangement separately for the emperor and Bourbon, and to leave the king of England apart[52].

On these refusals, the emperor began to prepare for the invasion of France[53]. As the duke of Albany had been favoured by the pope to escape to France with his fragment, by Civita Vecchia[54], no Frenchman remained in Italy, and the campaign of words was resumed. In May, the English ambassador stated to Clement, that his king and the emperor were determined to invade France for the recovery of their rights, and to remove its sovereign, with all his succession, from its inheritance; and desired the pontiff to "vouchsafe to concur with them, and to lend his helping hand to so *holy* a purpose[55]." Nothing could be more for the benefit of the common weal, because if he were restored, "were he never so well plumed, his ambition and insatiable wit would never be in rest till he had recovered all again[56]."

[52] Russell's Letter, just quoted.

[53] Bp. Bath's letter from Rome, 25th April. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 112.

[54] 'The duke hath been evil handled here among the Colonnois, who have had many skirmishes with him, and caused him to flee from place to place, and much ado to escape. Part of his men were driven hard to the gates, and 200 of them slain within a mile of the town, and many pursued to the pope's palace. The pope thinketh he can do no less than save him, because he married his kinswoman; and hath licensed his footmen to take shipping at Civita Vecchia for France, if the imperials from Genoa do not stop them. He is bare of money; he sent to borrow 100 ducats lately of a friend of his, and sped not.' Bath's letter from Rome, 19th March. MS. ib. p. 90.

[55] Bath's letter of 14th May. MS. ib. 121.

[56] Bath's lett. ib. 121.

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Therefore, both princes hoped that his holiness would hearken to them; and if he did, the bishop declared in his master's name, how steadfast in all his needs he should find the king of England. But in case he meant to swerve, and openly or secretly do any thing to the hindrance of this their intended purpose, the prelate called on the pontiff to consider the inconvenient consequences that would result, both to him and to his see[57].

Clement heard, uneasily, for his secret heart was veering to the forbidden way. He began his answer, by complaining again of the imperialists[58]; he intimated that other councils might have better served him[59], but as to the joint attack on France, he expressed rather stoutly his wish to be neutral[60]; he

[57] He thus stated these, 'I requested his holiness to consider and to beware, that he, in so doing, did not irritate these princes' subjects, which be now already the best disposed against his holiness and the holy see: so that all should *go to ruin*, for they *having matter enough*, tarried nothing but for an occasion. I put his holiness in remembrance of the matters of Almagne, and I showed him that now of late all was like to have gone into ruin: for if the French king had had the overhand, doubtless he had also taken Naples, whereupon *should have ensued a world never aforeseen*. And I showed his holiness, that *your grace wrote* plainly that *the ruin of the world*, which should doubtless have followed upon the French king's victory, was by the king's council and commons *only imputed to his holiness*, and that your grace did the best ye could to excuse him.' MS. Lett. 14th May. p. 122.

[58] 'He said the imperialists had handled him too cruelly. Since the victory, they have had and will have 200,000 ducats, and yet keep their soldiers in the territories of Parma, Placentia and Bologna, and pay nothing, and they have destroyed to the hurt of two or three hundred thousand ducats more.' Lett. ib. 122.

[59] 'He said, if he had hearkened to other persons, he might have had some remedy for this.' ib. 122.

[60] 'As to concurrence with invasion, he declared that there was no reason to require or demand any like thing of him; for his duty and part is to continue still a common father between Christian princes; and not to enter into no league nor treaty *ad offensionem alicujus*, but to keep himself still indifferent.' MS. Lett. ib. 123.

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did not think the emperor favored it[61], and his own treasury was too poor to afford any pecuniary assistance[62]. When he was apprized that part of the money which he had to discharge, might be paid with the condition that it should be converted to the invasion of France, he avowed his apprehension of its possible consequences[63].

The intentions of the imperial cabinet became undiscernable by our foreign diplomatists. It was indeed as little master of its own army as of the wheel of Fortune or the wings of Time. Its soldiers had been unpaid for six or seven months, and their wages amounted to one hundred thousand ducats every moon. "They are still," reports the ambassador, "because they lie and lodge in fat countries, where they fare well and spend nought. They forbear their payment now, but surely will never remove into France, nor to any other enterprises, until they be wholly paid. Wise ones think, that at the end of this month six or seven hundred thousand ducats will scarce pay them for what is past. They are sprinkled all about in Italy; this company in one place, and that in another, so that from one end of the army to the other, there are two hundred miles distance. I cannot perceive that any great feat in France can be done this year by the army; for time

[61] 'That the imperials did require of him no such thing as the invasion of France.' MS. Lett. 14th May, p. 123.

[62] 'And per case reason would that he should concur and contribute to this invasion of France, his holiness said he was not able thereunto, alleging his poverty, and how that the see, by such wars as in pope Leo's days, is totally exhausted.' ib. p. 123.

[63] 'His holiness said, he would be loth that it should ever be known that he had paid any money to any such intent; for the chances that might ensue hereafter.' Lett. Vit. B. 7. p. 124.

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passeth fast on; and among the captains, there is no earthly talking of any setting forwards[64]." The attack on France was unpopular in Italy[65].

As his captivity lengthened, the spirit of Francis began to droop, and to be more conceding as its hope decayed. New projects of arrangement were started[66]; the king offered to give Burgundy and a large sum for his redemption, to abandon his claims on Naples and Milan, and to wed the emperor's sister. To remove the obstacle which arose from this princess having been promised to the duke of Bourbon, Francis proposed to give him his favorite sister the duchess d'Alençon[67], who had just become a widow, and with her the duchy of Berry, and what she had derived from her late husband. For Henry, money only was intended[68], and if he chose to invade France, its cabinet had settled their system of defence. They would fortify their best towns, and abandon what could not be strengthened; they would make the best shift they could with these, and in the

[64] MS. Lett. Vit. B. 7. p. 125.

[65] 'I have also been with the emperor's agents concerning the pope's contribution to the invasion of France, and they have plainly answered me, that they have had of the pope already more than they could reasonably desire, and that there is none of the powers of Italy that will contribute to the invasion of France one penny.' Lett. ib. 125.

[66] The bishop states to Wolsey, that he had been with the pope again, to mention what he had heard of the French king's sudden familiarity with Bourbon, and asked him if he had heard any particular conditions of this. The pontiff answered, that 'his agent had smelled out' what is mentioned in the text. MS. Lett. ib. p. 126.

[67] 'Whom,' says the pope, 'the French king loveth above all women next his mother.' Francis mentioned, 'that God had in his mercy taken d'Alençon.' MS. ib. 127. The belief in France was, that d'Alençon, stung with remorse at having abandoned his royal brother-in-law at such a crisis, and with shame at being the only distinguished person who had escaped, was unable to survive the disgrace.

[68] 'They had heard of no great portion for Henry; but rather great and large sums of money, but this was only talking.' MS. ib. p. 127.

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field for three or four months; longer than this period, the English king could not tarry in France, both on account of the charge, and also of the season. If he should determine on a winter campaign, it would do him no good, and therefore if he should capture a town or two, they would take patience, being assured that ere long he must give up the matter[69].

The pope revealed all these things to the bishop of Bath, complained of the king of Poland, and great master of Prussia, becoming Lutherans[70]; and ended with asserting, "That if the war should thus continue, WE SHOULD SEE A NEW WORLD SHORTLY[71];" a sentence which soon proved to be as prophetic as the angry dictum of the Jewish Caiaphas from his prejudiced tribunal. Yet he was blind enough, within twelve months afterwards, to instigate that renewal of this war which fulfilled his prediction, to his own misery and to his popedom's humiliation.

But ere May closed, these propositions became nothing but the sounds and letters which had expressed them[72]. The leading men of France would not assent to any sacrifice of its territory; and therefore, all prospect of accommodation vanishing, preparations were made to take Francis out of Italy. He had been nearly three months confined in the

[69] The bishop states this plan from the pope's information. MS. Lett. Vit. B. 7. p. 128.

[70] MS. Lett. ib. 130.

[71] MS. Lett. ib. 130.

[72] On 23d May, B. Bath stated from Rome 'the legate hath written to the pope, that the treaty lately had between the French king and the imperials was now clearly quenched, and likely to take no effect.' MS. ib. p. 135.

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castle of Pizzighitone[73]. The Spanish government then determined that he should be removed to a remote locality, and Bourbon and Pescara expressed the sense of the army and their own opinion, in desiring that Naples might be made his selected residence[74]. The king remonstrated against any change from a place where he had been so comfortable, and in which he enjoyed so easy a communication with his own country. In Naples he saw only sickness and death[75]. The viceroy was ordered to be firm; and on the 17th of May, avoiding walled towns, and therefore Parma and Placentia, where the army was reposing, and taking him thro unknown ways, carried him to Genoa, avowedly to take shipping for the Neapolitan territory, which was thought a secure position[76]. Under this statement he got his royal charge safely to the seaport, and then, sending to Marseilles for six French gallies, to reinforce his own provided navy against the Moorish vessels that were infesting the Mediterranean[77], on the 8th of June he wrote to Henry, that as he found the atmosphere of Naples was dangerous from its malaria, during the hot

[73] MS. Lett. Vit. B. 7. p. 136.

[74] 'The Imperials be resolutely determined to have the French king to Naples. This thing dismayeth him.' MS. ib.

[75] On 16th May Russell wrote from Milan, 'the French king is marvellous sorry to go thither, saying, he seeth well the emperor will lose him, because the country is hot, and upon the sea, which thing is contrary to his constitution.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 134. The three ambassadors in Spain, on 16th June, stated from Toledo, 'the French king's high heart begins somewhat to come lower, which we understand did sore appal, after he knew that he should be had to Naples.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 135.

[76] Bath's Letter, 23d May. MS. ib. p. 136. I follow Russell's date of his removal, p. 134. Pace also reported the change on 3d June, from Venice. MS. ib. p. 143.

[77] MS. ib.

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months of June, July, and August, he had determined to carry the king of France into Spain[78], and the same day embarked him on the voyage[79]. An outcry of indignation burst out thro Italy, on this change of purpose. Bourbon, Pescara[80], the army, the pope and the Italians, had one common feeling of resentment, for it was taking Francis out of the power of all. There can be no doubt that Lannoy obeyed the private orders of his government; but their execution would have been impracticable, if the end of his journey had been announced at its commencement. He carried his masking appearances so far as even to delude the pope, by sending a churchman to consult with him on the route to Naples[81], and a messenger to that city, to furnish apartments for the royal occupant[82]. From Genoa he moved, to stay a few days at Porto Fino, twenty miles from that port[83]; and on the 9th, sailed away on his voyage. When the king saw his own flags on the vessels of his countrymen, he desired earnestly to speak with them. But the viceroy had given them Spanish captains, with some Spanish soldiery[84], and they kept to their protecting distance. On the

[78] The viceroy's original letter to Henry, dated 'Port a Jennes, 8th June,' is in MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 146. He wrote also to Wolsey.

[79] So Russell stated from Milan on 11th June; who added, 'it was concluded before his departure that he should go to Naples, but the viceroy doth now of his own mind convey him to Spain.' MS. ib. p. 149.

[80] Pescara was enraged, as Brantome says, that the viceroy 'lui ravit sa proye et son prisonnier, et sans lui sonner mot le mena et transfera en Espagne, contre leur resolution et celle de tout le conseil pris de le mener a Naples.' L. 4. p. 208. He mentions the angry letter which the marquis wrote to the emperor on the occasion. p. 209.

[81] Bath's letter of the 14th June. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 151.

[82] Brantome, V. 4. p. 212.

[83] Lett. ib. 151. Brant. 212.

[84] Bath's lett. p. 150.

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10th, the little fleet arrived at Nice, and awaited a fair wind till the night of the 12th. They then hoisted their sails again[85], and directing their course towards Corsica[86], reached Barcelona in safety, with their royal charge[87]. CHAP. XIV.

The indignation of the army at this deceiving transportation, was loudly declared, and Bourbon, whom the emperor had invited into Spain[88], was authorized to express it[89]; Pescara sent a challenge to the viceroy for the insult[90]; and the emperor, by mild and kind letters endeavored to allay the military displeasure[91]. Francis was taken from Barcelona to Alicant; but on disembarking there, a violent sedition and mutiny burst out among the Spanish soldiery, against the viceroy, which endangered the lives of both him and of Francis. They shot at Lannoy, as he was at the window of the king's apartment. The ball missed the viceroy, but struck the marble pillar on which Francis was leaning. Lannoy left the room in consternation, and was pursued from garden to garden, and wall to wall, finding with difficulty a shelter from the fury of the troops[92]. At last he secured himself, and by money appeased the anger of the determined revolters[93]. From

[85] Bath's lett. 20th June, p. 160.
[86] MS. ib. 151.
[87] On 7th July, Russell reported that a gentleman, who had come from the emperor to Bourbon, on reaching Barcelona, had found the viceroy to have arrived there with the French king. MS. ib. p. 173. So Pace also wrote on 12th July from Venice. p. 176.
[88] MS. Vit. B. 7. 141; 173.
[89] Brantome, p. 213.
[90] Brant. p. 214.
[91] Brant. p. 214.
[92] Lannoy was a Flemish officer, 'La maison de Lannoy est grande et celebre en Flanders.' ib. 215. Charles himself, born at Ghent, usually gave his preferring confidence to his countrymen.
[93] The king assisted to compose the sedition: 'La Majesté et la belle grace du roi servit beaucoup a cet appaisement.' Brantome, 219.

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Alicant, Francis was taken to Valentia[94], but was not allowed by Spanish pride to remain long there. The Castilians thought they were entitled to the honor of having him in Castile[95], and they expressed their feelings so determinately, that the emperor yielded to their requisition, and the king of France was conducted to Madrid, where he was rigorously secluded and minutely watched[96]. Escape was rendered as impossible as walls, seclusion, hourly examination, and personal inspection could make it, and Francis would have sunk to all the misery of despondence, but that until its reason fails, it is impossible for human nature to prevent the visitations of hope. This immortal child of imagination and desire, with the wings of a sylph, the voice of a syren, and the wand of an enchantress, mocks the power of the severest calamity, and will never be long absent with its inestimable consolations. It had sprung up anew in the bosom of Francis, on every proposition that had been suggested for his release; and tho perishing as each was rejected, yet such is the magical nature of this divine associate of our intellectual essence, that it never dies but to revive, altho it revives but to expire. The king's

[94] On July 9th, the three ambassadors in Spain informed Wolsey, 'the French king is now beside Valentia in a castle not sure, and nigh to the sea.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 72.

[95] MS. Vesp. ib. 72.

[96] On 11th August, the bishop of London wrote to Wolsey from Toledo, 'The person of the French king is in keeping of captain Alarçon, which so narrowly seeth to him, that no word escapes him, nor is spoken to him, unmarked: nor no man, without the emperor's knowlege, speaketh with him, nor otherwise than openly. And we understand, by the emperor's counsel, that until the emperor and he shall be in a point in this treaty, the emperor will not speak with him, nor he shall not come nigh the court.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 95.

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heart became sick with melancholy in Spain, at the vicissitudes and procrastination of the negotiations for his release, and more than one illness shook his frame as his captivity continued. But this unextinguishable comforter still upheld him; and that it might be thus operative, Charles at times sent him favorable messages; and when these no longer excited, and his indispositions became dangerous, roused fresh expectation by a courteous visit. Sweetest guest of the human heart, and the most constant friend of human life, hope is always whispering pleasure to us while it lives, and never disappoints us but to replace its fading flowers by newer blossoms and more alluring fruit. Reason may chide the mental fairy for its delusions, and moral satire may proscribe it as a dreamer and an enthusiast: yet what bosom would renounce the felicity it bestows; for it always exists with this glorious appendage, that in its sublimer range and final objects, it gives to earth-trained, but earth-spurning thought, an elevation, a nobility, an aspiration, and a home, which link the grave with heaven, the heart with its Creator, and the spirit with His eternity.

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CHAP. XV.

THE POPE'S DISQUIETUDES—THE EMPEROR'S DISPLEASURE AGAINST WOLSEY—HIS MARRIAGE—HENRY MAKES PEACE WITH FRANCE—THE DUCHESS D'ALENÇON'S VISIT TO CHARLES—ILLNESS OF FRANCIS—HIS TREATY WITH THE EMPEROR.

BOOK I.

Anxiety of the Pope, 1525.

THE summer approached with its glowing beauties, to delight the human taste; but that social peace which every nation was coveting, did not advance with a sister step. The pope—whose immediate revenues were consuming; whose foreign supplies were withheld, and whose authority was mocked, while trumpets sounded, and swords and cannon were awing the world—became visibly uneasy[1]. He saw that war was unfavorable to civil subordination, as well as to priestly power[2]. He dreaded the subtraction of ecclesiastical property for the necessities of the state[3]; and he perceived the aristocracy of Europe to be in danger from the agitations of the multitude[4]. He besought the English ambassador

[1] The dispatch of 14th June, from B. Bath to Wolsey, stated, 'the pope is in great perplexity as for these matters, as also for the matters of Luther, in Almagne; and wotteth not what to say, nor what to do.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 152.

[2] 'Princes occupied with the wars outwardly, shall be compelled to take laws of their subjects.' MS. ib.

[3] 'To the destruction clearly of the clergy and of the church; and after these, doubtless, of themselves.' ib.

[4] 'For these Lutherans do not only pretend the putting down of the clergy, but also to the clear destruction and ruin and total extinction of all the nobility; as by the handling and the demeanor of the villains and commons, it doth now manifestly appear.' MS. ib. 152.

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to urge his court to procure a general pacification [5]; but he only received lectures instead of obedience [6]; and stooped to apologize from the chair which had so often threatened, excommunicated, and commanded [7]. The popedom, even before Henry forsook it, was beginning to be but the shadow of itself; and Clement, feeling its altered state, bore the rebuke he received, with all the patience of one whose day of arrogance was gone by, and who had now to hear with submission, what he had no power to chastise; and whose humiliation would be but multiplied by resenting what he disliked, and could not avert.

Emperor's charge on Wolsey, June 1525.

But the man who was gratifying his own pride, by directing these insults on his spiritual chief, was at the same time destined to receive upbraidings far more violent from the sovereign whom he was trying to delude. It was in June, that, when the bishop of London, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. Sampson delivered the king's and cardinal's letters to the emperor, they were surprised to hear from the imperial mouth, an angry censure on their prime minister, for the abusive language which his haughty mind had

[5] He 'desired me to write to your grace, to study some way of peace, which he saith is the only remedy in this maximis malis.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 152.

[6] The bishop adds, 'I showed his holiness, that your grace foreseeing these evils afore, had advertized him by me of the same, and how that I knew right well that your grace's opinion should be now as it was then, that all these evils *might be imputed to his holiness*; for an he had in due time holpen the confederacy, and done as in good reason methought he should have done, the common enemy had been oppressed, and the wars finished long before this time.' MS. Lett. ib. p. 152.

[7] 'His holiness gave me no perfect answer, but said, your grace knew that his intent was good, and that if he should have entered the wars, he was nothing furnished therefore; and he feared lest his so doing should have done nothing, but have engendered the hatred of more nations to him, and to the see apostolic.' MS. ib. 152.

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uttered against the sovereign with whom his court was yet on friendly terms[8]. Charles did not chuse to explain himself more minutely, but he sent his state secretary to give the particular details. The first point complained of was an insidious assertion, that the emperor was aspiring to the monarchy of Europe[9]. The second was more personal and poignant. "His majesty said also, that your grace hath named him to be a lyar, observing no manner of faith or promise; that my lady Margaret was a ribawde; don Ferdinando, his brother, a child, and so governed; and the duke of Bourbon a traitor[10]." The time of the cardinal's uttering these expressions was carefully marked[11], and the additional insult noted, with which he had refused the request that had occasioned them[12]. The English embassy could only assure Charles that the prime minister had frequently panegyrised him; who expressively told them, that he should judge of the truth of the allegations by

[8] On 2d June, they reported to Wolsey from Toledo; 'After delivery of the king's letters and the queen's to the emperor, we delivered yours, which his majesty read, and said to us, that some words were in the letters very good concerning him and his affairs; howbeit, he could not a little marvel of your grace's other demeanor towards him divers times, considering the singular amity that is between the king, his brother, and him; and beside all the other before, now lately, with my lord of Bevyr and his other ambassadors there, your grace, he said, used very sharp words, as appeareth by their letters.' MS. Lett. Vesp. C. 3. p. 55.

[9] 'And of the impeachment of the same, to be made by the king's highness, with your grace's advisement and aid.' MS. ib.

[10] To these precise words, the ambassador adds, 'and this report was brought by M. Beaurain, now called M. de Rieux, at his last being in England.'

[11] 'When he desired aid of the king's highness, for M. de Bourbon, of 200,000 ducats for the entry into Burgundy, after the presence of the French king in Italy.' MS. ib.

[12] 'Then he said, that your grace answered, 'That the king's highness had other things to do with his money, than to spend it for the pleasures of such four personages, expressing the aforesaid words.' MS. ib. p. 55.

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Wolsey's future conduct [13]. To sir Richard Wingfield he spoke of the cardinal's violent temper [14]; and the prelate of London advised his state employer to assuage the emperor by an apologising letter [15], expressing manlily his belief that the emperor was faithful to his engagements, but without the power to execute them [16]. Wolsey put on the masque awhile to the emperor; but lost no time in ordering the pope to be assured, that the king of England's feelings to Charles were no longer as friendly as they had been; and that he was now inclined to have pacific relations with the government of France [17]. That the reproaches, tho fully merited, were a fester to Wolsey's vain and irritable mind, and that he resolved to use Francis

[13] 'His majesty said, and this repeated twice, that by the deeds now following, he should perceive whether these reports were spoken under such manner as we assured him, or otherwise.' MS. Lett. Vesp. p. 56.

[14] Sir Richard, after reporting separately the preceding facts, subjoins, —'he said, If he did not perfectly know your sayings to be of no truth, he would show himself much more grieved and displeasant towards you than he doth. He said, 'My lord cardinal useth a wrong way, intending to lead me so;' and further he said, he knew your grace to be of a choleric complexion, by reason whereof in your passion, this escaped you; but for his part, he said, from henceforth he would not give readiness only to words, but according to such fruit as he should receive by your friendship, so should ye find him towards you.' MS. ib. 58.

[15] 'It were good to write a letter to the emperor of your own hand, to declare the mistaking of the matter. It were good to give them good words for good words, keeping secret your thoughts, as they do.' MS. ib. p. 60.

[16] 'We think, verily, the emperor is well minded to keep all treaties with the king, as much as may stand to the redubbing of the common affairs; but his power and substance is not at this time to accomplish the king's desire, by reason of the army of Italy; which hath eaten their corn before it be grown.' B. Lond. lett. MS. Vesp. ib. p. 60.

[17] On 25th July, the bishop of Bath, from Rome, reported,—'talking master Gregory with me, I went to the pope, and declared unto him the contents of your letter, as well as of the king's displeasure, taken with the emperor, for his unkind demeanor; as also of the towardness which was in the king's highness to conclude with France such reasonable conditions as should by them be offered.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 175.

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on his release, as an instrument of his revenge, his future conduct soon discovered.

The emperor was engaged to marry the princess Mary, but she was yet too young; and as he was passing his twenty-sixth year, his subjects became anxious about the future succession to their crown, and in earnest language desired him to contract an efficient marriage. Charles therefore applied to Henry to release him from his contract to wed the English princess, and the king, on the sixth of July, signed an authority to his ambassadors to express his compliance, and to annul the nuptial treaty [18]. The behaviour of Wolsey in the transmission of this important commission, both shows his rankling spleen against the emperor, and gives an evidence how he managed to counteract his master's wishes, and to pursue his own plans in foreign affairs, without directly endangering himself.

Having signed this commission in the beginning of July, and knowing the urgency with which Charles had solicited it, Henry assumed that it would reach Toledo in the usual manner of the official dispatches, by the end of the month; but Wolsey, unknown to his sovereign, instead of sending it by an express post or courier overland thro France, consigned it to a vessel

[18] This commission is in MS. Vesp. C. 3. It recites the Windsor treaty of 20th June 1522, which appointed the marriage; that Henry's ambassadors had congratulated Charles on his victory; that it had been stated on the emperor's part, how his subjects, seeing his mature and fit age for marrying, had vehemently desired, and did not cease to urge him to it, and to chuse elsewhere a marriageable wife of full age, which 'our daughter would not be for some years yet;' therefore Charles being desirous to comply with their wishes, the king empowered his ambassadors to retract, rescind, annul, and annihilate the contract.' p. 67. It is very civilly worded.

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to go by sea, so that it did not reach the hands of the commissioners till the middle of September; not till a fortnight after Wolsey had persuaded his master to make a separate peace with the French king[19]. Henry had no idea of this delay. He supposed that it had been received in due time, and regularly acted upon; and when the emperor repeated his solicitations, the king expressed his surprise that his envoys had not given in his name the consent which he had so long before authorized them to declare[20]. The cunning of Wolsey is here manifest. Two months after, he could charge the delay on the winds, which, as Henry, unsuspicious of the retardation, had not been critically watching, he could neither deny nor suspect. But during this period, this important commission, which from June the emperor had so earnestly requested and so anxiously waited for, was lying unmoved at Plymouth[21]; altho no expence would have been grudged by Charles for its most rapid transmission. CHAP. XV.

Unacquainted with this procrastinating management, the emperor was wondering at Henry's silence on his intreaty. He had fixed his mind to select the

[19] 'So the ambassadors stated to Henry, in their letter from Toledo, of 2d December: 'Your grace's letters, with your commission to conclude your consent, and duplicate of your letters of 3d July, arrived here 13th September, and not before; which was two days after Cook and Censor arrived, and fourteen days after your peace was concluded.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 109.

[20] We have the ambassador's own words to Henry for this fact: 'Your highness hath at this time written to us, greatly marvelling that before this time your said consent was not given according to such commission as your highness sent hither for that purpose, the 6th July last past: by virtue whereof, ye supposed his desire to have been accomplished long ago.' MS. ib. p. 111.

[21] 'Which commission, by reason of a contrary wind, rested at Plymouth well nigh two months, and arrived here last past and not before 13th September.' Lett. MS. ib. p. 111.

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king of Portugal's daughter for his bride, and wrote both to Wolsey and his sovereign for Henry's acquiescence[22], and inquired of the ambassadors what answer they had received[23]. They, ignorant also that the relinquishment of the engagement to Mary, which was the only obstacle, was sleeping at Plymouth, ingeniously imputed the delay to his ministers at London not having mentioned it there[24]. Charles ascribed this to queen Catherine, who probably regretted that her daughter was not to be the empress[25]. His Majesty, at this conference in August, stated again the recent remonstrations of his Cortez on this subject[26], and the political inconveniences to which the hesitation was subjecting him[27]; and forcibly intimated his solicitude for Henry's decision, for whose alliance, if age had suited, he expressed his determined preference[28].

[22] On 11th August, the bishop of London apprized Wolsey, 'The emperor now writeth a letter to the king, and another to your grace, to desire you to help that he without delay may have the king's consent to the marriage of Portugal.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 85.

[23] The same ambassador informed Henry, that on 1st August, at their audience with Charles, 'he asked if any thing were touched in our letters, of your mind as to the affair of the marriage with Portugal.' MS. ib. 88.

[24] 'I said, your highness had great marvel that where we had written so plainly, that Spinoloza should make overtures of that matter, neither he nor yet any other of his ambassadors there had ever touched this matter, or spoke one word of it.' ib.

[25] 'He said, it was my lady, his aunt's deed, who now late had sent hither to make her excuses in that matter; whereon he was not content with her, so to change his instructions.' MS. ib.

[26] 'He said, that the day before all the procurators of the cities and of his Cortez, for so they call them in Spain, had been with him; and whereas in the beginning of the said Cortez, they only prayed him to take a wife, and to establish his estate; now they have gone further, and not prayed him, but required him, that he will hearken to their desire, and take a wife.' MS. ib. p. 89.

[27] 'As for himself, for his person he could well tarry, nor hath no passion to marry: but if he should go out of his realm to make war, or repair to any other of his countries, or go to take his corone imperial, danger might come thereof.' MS. ib.

[28] 'Wherefore he greatly desired to know your mind therein. He

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The ambassador endeavored to make his payment of his debts to Henry the condition of the solicited consent[29]. But Charles frankly stated, that until his Portuguese nuptials took place, he should have no pecuniary resources; and that the money which the Cortez had granted him, would be four years coming in[30]; but promised to give pledges to pay what he owed by appointed instalments[31]. A fortnight afterwards he repeated his solicitations for some reply[32]; but Wolsey had carefully withheld all intimations of the consent, which had so long before been officially granted, and ought to have been instantaneously dispatched. At last the wind-bound commission arrived on the 13th September. The emperor had then gone to Madrid, to visit the French king; but upon his return the ambassadors apprized him of it, and began to put it in execution[33]. Henry was so concerned at its delay, that when he found it had not reached them, he sent immediately a new commission with even ampler powers than the former[34], that the emperor might not be inconvenienced by any further procrastination. Charles, at last released from his obli-

said, that before all the alliances of the world, he would fayneet have yours, if he might now have her, and she were of age meet.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 89.

[29] MS. ib. 91. [30] MS. ib. 92. [31] MS. ib. 92.

[32] On 14th August, the bishop wrote from Toledo: 'The emperor desires a brief answer to be given to his request.' MS. ib. p. 100. This was addressed, and probably occasioned his answer, stating that he had given it in July, and expressing his surprise that they had not received it.

[33] MS. ib. p. 111.

[34] MS. ib. p. 111. The ambassadors noticed to Henry the emperor's express declaration, 'the dissolving of this alliance should not minish any part of his inward love toward you.' ib. p. 89. On the king's part they declared, 'ye will always accept him as your entirely beloved son, in no less kindness than if the marriage had taken place.' MS. ib. 91. So that Henry did not contemplate Charles with the feelings of Wolsey.

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gations to the English princess, bent his mind to the completion of his Portuguese nuptials. But here also financial difficulties arose[35]. The king of Portugal had desired the previous abolition of the treaties of Windsor and London[36]; for in that age a precontract invalidated any other marriage. This condition Charles had now accomplished; but peace with France was also required. On this point, the emperor acknowledged to his intended father, that "tho he hath the king in his hands, his promises not being confirmed by the states of his kingdom, are worth nothing[37]." The more delicate and least removeable difficulty was the discharge of the monies which the imperial government had borrowed from that of Portugal[38].

It may surprise us to find Charles, the king of Spain, and of the newly-discovered Indies, the chief lord of all the Netherland provinces, and the emperor of Germany, could be so destitute of pecuniary resources, as to be every where in debt. But so it was; and from his own official declaration, it appears that he could not have carried on any of his preceding wars with France, without the financial aid of

[35] In the MS. Vesp. C. 3. is an important state paper, 'the declaration of Charles V. to the Portuguese ambassador, on deferring his marriage with the Portuguese princess,' p. 62–5, which supplies the facts in the text.

[36] 'As for abolishing the treaties of Windsor and London, if it should be done without the establishment of a new league between Portugal and Spain, others would think they had broke off friendship, and the common affairs would be in less esteem.' ib. p. 64.

[37] Ib. p. 63.

[38] The emperor here ingeniously touches on the king of Portugal's religious prepossessions. 'If the marriage should be deferred till the debts were paid, and the peace with France concluded, he should not be able to lend his help toward the suppression of the heresies, which already hath done such hurt, and like to do more, if not prevented.' MS. ib. 63.

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his little neighbor, Portugal[39]. So essential are the supplies of commerce to the public wealth of a state, and so ineffective are mere mines, territory or power, without it! Portugal was then as inconsiderable as now in her European dominion; but she was as rich as she is at present poor, in a superior and extensive foreign trade. She had, therefore, accommodated Charles with loans, which made his arms effective[40]. It was not till the ensuing March that the nuptials took place, when they were privately solemnized at Seville[41].

But Wolsey did not let the summer pass without persuading Henry to make a separate peace with France, leaving the emperor in the lurch. The ambassadors in Spain, lessened by the sudden death of

[39] He 'confesseth he hath reason to please the king of Portugal, in regard, that, *by his help*, he hath taken Tournay, Milan, Fontarabbia, and which is more, his enemy the French king, whom he now hath prisoner; the said king of Portugal not having any benefit, but great charges, besides the disturbance of the marriage between his daughter and the dauphin.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 62.

[40] His debts to England are thus stated: 'To attain his crown of Spain, and after to retain the same, in two transportations, 100,000 florins and 150,000 crowns; for the defence of Fenlowe, 35,000 florins; beside the indemnity, being unpaid for four years, each year 133,305 crowns, all which debts we desired the emperor to pay.' MS. ib. p. 115. 'The debt on the Fleur de Luce, 50,000 crowns.' MS. ib. p. 117.

[41] On 12th March 1526, Dr. Edw. Lee's dispatch to Henry was, 'I went to Seville, where I arrived 6th March, and there found the empress, who entered the city the Saturday afore, being the 3d March; there abiding the coming of the emperor, who made entry into the city the 10th of the same month; and the 11th being Mid Lent Sunday, about two of the clock in the morning, was married secretly, the legate doing the office.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 223. It is curious to see how these royal marriages fluctuated. In 1504, when Charles was but four years old, a treaty had been commenced with Louis XII. to marry his daughter Claude, who became afterwards the queen of Francis, to the Spanish Prince. MS. Calig. D. 5. p. 70.

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sir Richard Wingfield[42], perceived his design[43], and show us that he accomplished it by misleading the sovereign to believe that the emperor was anticipating him[44]. They warned their sovereign of the revolting effect which it would have on the mind of Charles[45], to whom it must appear a faithless desertion, and that he would never find Francis a sincere friend[46]; and assuring him that the emperor had, for his sake, procrastinated his own accommodation to his own detriment[47], they apologised for their honest letter[48], but intreated him to believe that

[42] Their letter of 28th July mentions, 'He eat melons, and drank wine without water to them, and afterwards drank beer, *which is made here by force of the hop*, for to be preserved the better against the intolerable heat of this country. A flux increased upon him.' MS. Calig. D. 5. p. 78. This is an early period for beer in Spain.

[43] On 11th August 1525, they expressed to Henry in cipher, 'We perceive how your grace is minded privily to pass the peace, not tarrying for the emperor.' MS. ib. 94.

[44] 'We have often considered your grace's letter at this time sent, and do perceive by the same, that your highness, *thinking the emperor to be much more forwarder in his peace than he is*, is minded finally to embrace such offers as be there made by John Joachimo.' MS. ib. p. 94.

[45] 'But we think, undoubtedly, that you, in so doing, shall lose the emperor for ever, and shall cause him to knit such a knot with France, in making of his peace, that your highness and your posterity, with your realm, shall feel the same for ever.' MS. ib. 94. The resentment of Charles against Henry did produce a steady opposition to his favorite wishes, of which his realm will for ever feel the effects; but not calamitously, if emancipation from papal domination has been that blessing, both to our intellect and our piety, which the most enlightened Englishmen, for the last three centuries, believe it to have conferred.

[46] 'But in hearkening only to France, which doth impute their present ruin and calamity chiefly to your grace, what fair words soever they give you. And whereas John Joachimo saith it shall be kept secret, heaven forbid your highness should trust him, whose past time heretofore with you ye have seen.' MS. ib. 94.

[47] 'And seeing he hath tarried to make peace for your sake, to help you to come to reasonable conditions, which else he for himself might have had before this, if your highness should now leave him, which is impossible to be kept from him, peradventure he shall take it for a breach of all amities with you.' MS. ib. p. 95.

[48] 'The imminent danger which we see like to ensue herein, makes us more bold to write thus plainly in discharging our duty to your highness.' MS. ib. 94.

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Charles would never make peace without him[49]. Before this letter reached Henry, the act had been signed. Wolsey's resentful soul disdained all consequences, and on the 7th of September the metropolis and all Europe were astonished at the proclamation of a peace, concluded between the English and French governments[50]. The latter obtained it by pecuniary sacrifices, in addition to its political effect of re-adjusting the disturbed balance of power[51]; and Wolsey did not suffer his own private interests to be forgotten[52]. It counteracted all the objects of the imperial court; but peace, on any terms, is so delightful to the philanthropic mind, and the movements of hostile armies were so destructive of human comfort, that all Europe, and especially its literary classes, rejoiced at its occurrence; and the more eagerly, because it came unexpectedly. That Henry was deceived into an abandonment of his ally by false suggestions that his friend was perfidiously abandoning him, our preceding pages

[49] 'We think your highness need not have any manner of mistrust or doubt, that the emperor shall not stick firmly by you in making this peace; for unless you be first satisfied and content, he will never take peace with France.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 96.

[50] Hall, 705.

[51] This defensive alliance was signed at Moore, on 30th August 1525. England and France were to assist each other if attacked, and Henry engaged to solicit Charles for the king's release. The sums to be paid Henry were 1,894,736 crowns by six months instalments, and 100,000 crowns every year, and also his sister's dowry by 10,000 crowns annually. Rym. 14. p. 49; 110. Louisa's ratification on 25th September, stating the sum as two million crowns of gold, each to be worth in French money 38 solid. Turon. and signed by Wolsey, is in MS. Cal. D. 9. pp. 67–78. Francis added his ratification at Madrid, on 27th December. Rym. p. 113.

[52] Louisa's letters patent of 18th Nov. acknowledged that 121,898 crowns were owing to Wolsey, for the arrears of his Tournay pension and other debts, which she engaged to pay in seven years. Rym. 110.

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imply[53]; but that, when his enemy was at his feet, and his crown offered to him by one whose talents had the power of commanding victory when efficiently supported, he should evince such a self-correcting equanimity of mind, as to renounce the tempting objects of inviting ambition, and leave France to its independence and social comforts unmolested and unenvied, entitles him to our moral applause, and lifts him to a great superiority over the restless spirits, whose lust of conquest and dominion have so often shaken the unoffending world. It announced, however, greater results if Charles did not submit to a pacification, more disadvantageous than he had hitherto contended for. These became obvious to his discernment, when he found an English embassy sent by Henry to the lady regent, which reached Lyons on the 24th of November[54]; and he exerted himself to defeat the purposes of its mission.

Wolsey, on advising the peace with France, had urged the pope to complete his league with Francis, and the Italian states against the emperor[55]. But such was the effect of the imperial messages to Clement, that, instead of prosecuting his own league, he confirmed the treaty he had made with Charles, on the overwhelming news of the French king's cap-

[53] Accordingly Henry, in his instructions of 8th September 1525, to his ambassadors, to notify his peace with France to the emperor, says, 'We trust that long before this time, the emperor has taken his appointment with the French king.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 201. These are signed at top with his autograph.

[54] Hall, 706. This commission is in MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 88; and their dispatch of 16th Dec. 1525, from Lyons, p. 97.

[55] Wolsey himself states this fact in his instructions to these ambassadors, in MS. Cal. D. 9. 'Good persuasions had been made from the English government to the pope, to conclude the defensive and offensive league between the Pope, France, Venice and other potentates of Italy.' p. 93.

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ture, and was meditating some new federation with him[56]. This vacillation of the pontiff, deserting those whom he had urged into their disasters, occasioned Wolsey to order the ambassadors, with all possible celerity, to get the league concluded between France, Venice and the other states of Italy, leaving room for Henry to accede when he should choose it, and, in the meantime, until he had decided, to appoint him to be its protector[57]. The cardinal was of opinion that this would alarm the emperor, and make him forbear such enterprises as he was contemplating, and would enable England to interfere with effect to procure peace, and the release of Francis. But Wolsey advised that a French army should be immediately pushed into Italy, before the emperor sent one there; that while he was occupied with the festivities of his marriage, his Spaniards might be driven out. After such a success, the pope would assuredly join them, and the emperor become moderate in his conditions[58]. Such were the cardinal's instructions on which he meant the new embassy and his master to act. It joined at Lyons the other ambassadors

[56] Wolsey, after mentioning these facts, adds, that the pope was 'having some other more strait and secret dealings with the emperor than was yet openly known; and if not prevented by great dexterity, would facilly yield himself to those projects.' MS. Cal. D. p. 93. Such was Wolsey's idea of this pontiff's sincerity or resolution.

[57] The cardinal also mentions that, 'to prevent the pope from thus engaging himself, and to defeat the emperor's designs on Italy, the king meant to lay aside all the advantages which he might have gained from France by prosecuting the war.' MS. ib.

[58] MS. Vesp. C. 3. Wolsey also directed them to take care of the king's pensions out of Milan; and 'one reason why he chose not to join the league immediately was, that he might not seem to *be acting like a merchant*; and therefore would wait till the emperor gave him further occasion to break with him.' MS. ib. Cal. D. 9. 93–6.

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coming from Italy, and in the middle of December had their audiences with the lady regent[59].

1525. But Louisa, like all the rest, was pursuing her own plans for the attainment of her desired ends. She received them civilly, but inquired who was to be the chief captain of the new allied forces. She answered their inquiries with courtly evasions, till on the eve of Christmas-day, she surprised them with the information that her son, instead of meditating the vindictive warfare that Wolsey wanted to hurl upon the emperor, was then making peace[60].

The emperor had invited the duke of Bourbon into Spain early in the summer[61], who had deferred his journey; but these manifestations of new hostilities, arising from Wolsey and the pope, occasioned Charles to court a successful warrior, whom he had too much neglected. On the 15th November, Bourbon entered Toledo with a great train. The emperor, accompanied by the legate and all the nobility of Spain, went out of the town to meet him at the bridge over the Tagus, and from thence brought him, with all the public honors he could bestow, and placing him on his left side while the legate took the right, into the loudly acclaiming city. Every pleasure and pastime that could be devised, were afterwards exhibited to gratify and distinguish him[62].

He had been promised the emperor's sister Elea-

[59] Clerk, Bishop of Bath, had his audience on 15th December, and the next day wrote his detail of the interview to Wolsey. Cal. D. 9. p. 97.

[60] MS. ib. p. 101.

[61] On 6th July, Bourbon, whose proceedings were remarkably open, himself apprized Henry of this invitation in a letter, which is in MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 174.

[62] B. Bath's lett. MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 121.

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nora in marriage; and perhaps this was the reason that Francis fixed his thoughts on the same lady, to disappoint the conqueror who had humbled him, and whom he therefore hated. The viceroy, envious of Bourbon's superior fame and achievements, was even avowedly anxious to disappoint him in this marriage[63]. It became a delicate question to Charles himself, as his negotiations advanced with Francis, and this princess became fixed on as his future queen. When the French urged this point, they were told that the emperor's promise of her hand had been given to the duke of Bourbon, and that his consent must be obtained before the proposal could be listened to[64].

Louisa did not make the journey to Charles, in behalf of her son, as she had at first projected[65]. It occurred to her, that she might send to a young and unmarried emperor, and who was now meditating wedlock, a more interesting and therefore more efficacious negotiator in her sprightly, cultivated and pleasing daughter, the favorite sister of Francis, and who, then the young widow of d'Alençon, is now better known to us from her ingenious little novels or Boccacio-like tales, as Margaret de Valois, the queen of Navarre[66]. The pretext for her visit

[63] This is repeatedly mentioned in the dispatches. In June, Russell stated that the viceroy had said to the duke, in the presence of Francis, that 'he should take heed, lest the French king should take away the queen of Portugal.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 149. At the end of July, the bishop of London reported, 'The viceroy has been persuading the dowager of Portugal, it were better to take the French king, than the duke of Bourbon.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 80.

[64] B. London's letter of 2d December, from Toledo. MS. ib. p. 116.

[65] See before, p. 432.

[66] She collects, at the baths near the Pyrennees, ten persons, whom the overflowing waters detained there, to meet together in a pleasant

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was, because "madame regent might not depart out of the realm;" and it became known to our ambassadors at Toledo, in the beginning of July, that the fair duchess was to come thither, with her train, "with full power of all the estates of France, and of the parliament also, to treat on peace" with the Spanish government. The veteran statesman Robertet was also to accompany her[67].

This diplomatic combination of youth and beauty with the most experienced intelligence, alarmed the bishop of London and the erudite doctor Sampson. They saw at once the whole female policy, and they felt its danger; and in their next conference with the imperial cabinet, they expressed their disquieted foresight to the chancellor, the great master, and the state secretary, with emphatic gravity. They said, "her person was not minded to be sent hither for any other cause but to hinder the profit of the emperor, and to comfort her brother; that being young, and a widow, she comes, as women do, to be seen; and chiefly that the emperor's majesty may see her person, and perchance may like her; and

meadow for ten days, and each to tell some adventure which they had known or heard of, to pass the time of their delay. She mentions in her preface, that the Tales of Boccacio had been then newly translated into French; and that herself, her brother Francis, and her son and daughter-in-law, had been delighted with them; and many persons of the court resolved to imitate them. Seventy-two of the tales have been preserved and printed.

It is to her that Brantome dedicates his 'Rodomontades Espaignoles,' with the compliment of her being 'la plus belle, la plus noble, la plus grande, la plus genereuse, la plus magnanime, et la plus accomplice princesse du monde.' He wrote it by her desire, whose 'gentil esprit comprend tout et n'ignore rien,' while he was confined to his bed by a fall from his horse, which had so bruised his reins, as to keep him three years and an half 'perclus et estropie de mon corps.' Œuv. V. 12.

[67] Ambas. lett. from Toledo, 9th July. MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 72.

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to woo the queen of Portugal for her brother, which else none, without the emperor's knowledge, durst attempt to do. But as the ladies be both young, both of one age, both widows, she shall find good commodity in talking with her to advance her brother's matter[68]. Such were the anticipations and apprehensions of the English embassy from the formidable presence of this vivacious lady. The emperor's ministers did not disguise the danger; they said, "We had shewed many great and urgent reasons[69]." Here they paused—for who could prevent the meeting of her dangerous eyes and smiles with the glances of the emperor? She must be presented to him, and he must abide the full effect of her insinuating presence. No one but himself could make his heart impenetrable to her magic. Hence this attack must be submitted to, and its success or failure patiently awaited. But as to other communications, these were more manageable; and therefore the imperial statesmen consolingly added, "Howbeit, it was not thought nor meant by the emperor, that the said lady, if she came, should either have access to the French king, or come where he were; or yet to the queen dowager, unless the matter came to some conclusion[70]." All which momentous conference was duly reported with faithful gravity to the English cardinal.

All July passed, and August was passing, without the appearance of this dreaded princess; but it was found at Toledo, that "until the coming of madame

[68] Lett. MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 73.
[69] Lett. ib. 73.
[70] Lett. ib. 73.

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d'Alençon, nothing shall be done here[71]." Charles himself alluded to it without scruple, in his declaration to the Portuguese ambassadors[72]. At length near the middle of August it was intimated that she had commenced her journey[73].

This lady's movements are more than usually interesting to an Englishman, because at this time our celebrated Anne Boleyn was part of her household. She had been taken into it on the death of Claude, the late queen of France[74], and being one of her maids of honor, it is most probable that Anne attended her into Spain. Sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of our future queen, had himself been ambassador in that country but two years before[75].

It was not till the beginning of October that the long expected French princess reached the court at Toledo[76]. She came—she saw—she was seen—and she failed: nor was she pleased with her failure. The particulars of her interview are not recorded, but it was not a Pavian victory. She did not take captive the captor of her brother. He viewed unshaken the long-dreaded fascination of her charms; and vexed at the disappointment, she left the city

[71] Bishop's letter. MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 82.

[72] 'As for peace with France, no certainty can be had, till the coming of madame d'Alençon, which will be long, and not sure then to make a final conclusion.' MS. ib. p. 63.

[73] 'We hear say that madame Alençon is on her way; but it will be long before she arrive: until whose coming, no man here hath sufficient commission to treat of peace.' Lett. 11th Aug. p. 95.

[74] See our further chapter.

[75] The British Museum, in Vesp. C. 2. contains many letters from sir Thomas, during his embassy in Spain, from which he also sent dispatches, 4th May 1523. ib. p. 117.

[76] The bishop's letter of 2d December, from Toledo, furnishes us with the fact of the text. Vesp. C. 3. p. 110. She embarked in September, at Aigue-morte, and landing at Barcelona, proceeded thro Sarragossa to the emperor's court. Bellay, Mem. 18. p. 15.

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suddenly and unexpectedly, in a huff, seven days after she entered it, taking a hasty leave of the insensible Charles, but frankly declaring that she did not mean to return[77]. The emperor, on the same day, either to show his indifference, or because he was piqued at her departure, went himself a hunting seven leagues off[78]. Thus ended this redoubted interview. The English prelate, delighted with the issue, went to the imperial chancellor, to tell him, "We marvel that madame d'Alençon, who had come so far to sue for peace, was so soon departed hence[79]." The chancellor answered, that she had one day sent for him to say, "that the French king should deliver up Burgundy, without other conditions, so that he might be put at liberty without further ransom;" and he had promised to second her proposal. But she had never mentioned this to the emperor, and "the cause of her mutation he knew not[80]." That her brother had fallen sick again, was her pretext for going away, but the chancellor declared, "that was but a color sought for their departure[81]." Her failure to interest the heart that could have given her an imperial diadem, was no doubt the real occasion of her hasty secession. But Francis, who had been recovering from a severe indisposition, was again relapsing into a more dangerous fever[82]. He lay in a doubtful state under its dele-

[77] The prelate's account from Toledo, is, 'On 11th October, suddenly madame d'Alençon, with all her train, departed out of this city to Madrid, to the French king. Nevertheless she did take her congée of the emperor, not minding to return as she said.' Vesp. C. 3. p. 110. 'My lady's being here was but seven days.' p. 120.

[78] Ib. p. 110.

[79] Ib. p. 110.

[80] Ib. p. 110.

[81] Ib. p. 111.

[82] 'His second sickness was much more dangerous than the first.' Ib. 120.

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terious effects till 6th November[83], and although it then had quitted him, he was so weakened that he could not stand or walk, and was very low spirited[84]. The emperor's chief physician who attended him, went in person to advise his sovereign to conclude some pacific treaty with him, as in his opinion the French monarch could not long survive[85]. The main difficulty lay as to the cession of Burgundy. The emperor desired it as a family dominion[86]. The French had already offered it[87]. But he saw that it would be a mere verbal surrender, unless the states general of France confirmed it; and from the unpopularity of Francis and his mother, and the reputation of the duke of Bourbon, the Parisian cabinet felt that it was too dangerous to convene this national representation[88]. They wished money to be the substitute[89]. The English envoys pressed the em-

[83] 'Before which day he was not clear of the fever.' Lett. Vesp. C. 3. p. 120.

[84] The secretary of the duchess also told them 'the French king was no man like to continue, he was so malincolous'; to whom we answered, 'That the comfort of my ladies being here, and her good dexterity in practising for his deliverance, should much alleviate that pensiveness.' Lett. ib. p. 120.

[85] MS. ib. p. 120.

[86] He said, 'he asketh nothing but his own patrimony, whereof his ancestors were ever possessed till the death of duke Charles, which is little past forty years; and many of his servants be yet alive, who have seen, and can testify the same.' MS. ib. 112.

[87] Ib.

[88] The imperial ministers thus described this constitutional difficulty. 'The parliament of Paris, which is established for matters of justice and peace, could not meddle in matters of war; nor of the estate royal, which was above their power.' The English embassy answering that this was truth, the others proceeded; 'their only remedy is, to keep the French king until the three estates, in whom is the whole authority, should confirm all that shall be treated for peace. They perceived that they dare not assemble the three estates, lest they should put other governors than my lady, and for fear of the duke of Bourbon, whom they would not have come into France by the said truce.' MS. ib. p. 97.

[89] D'Alençon's secretary mentioned, that three millions of crowns

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peror to imitate Henry in taking a pecuniary commutation. His immediate answer was, "That he would not sell man's flesh for money. He demanded only his own lands, lately taken from him by violence[90]."

The intercourse of the fair ambassador with the princess Eleanora was as unsatisfactory to her projects as that with the emperor. She made the Spanish widow her friendly visit; but two days afterwards, Eleanora, who had not yet decided between Bourbon and Francis, set off on a pilgrimage to Guadeloupe, at twenty-five leagues distance, where she remained while her visitant stayed in Spain[91]. Her attendants acknowledged, that this avoiding her acquaintance greatly disconcerted the French princess, "who thought by her to have had some advancement in her suit[92]." She had then no choice but to return disappointed and displeased, after a baffled effort to contrive a plan for her brother's escape[93].

It was in the middle of September that Charles performed his first visit to the French king. "I am the prisoner of your imperial majesty," exclaimed Francis, taking off his bonnet as the emperor entered his apartment. "You are not my prisoner, but my

had been offered for his redemption. As for lands, he said, 'the realm would never consent.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 120.

[90] MS. ib. p. 113.

[91] MS. ib. p. 120.

[92] Ib. p. 121. The duchess's secretary exploringly inquired of the English ambassadors, what they had heard of Bourbon's marriage with the lady. 'We answered, we thought he would be glad to have her; but what *her* mind was, we knew not.' ib. 120.

[93] She had left Spain by the 2d Dec. when the English ambassadors reported that she had departed. p. 121.

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brother and my friend," answered Charles, embracing him, and covering his head. "I have no wish but to give you your liberty, and every comfort you can desire[94]." But notwithstanding this personal courtesy, it was not till the year had closed that the terms of the liberation were arranged. Bourbon was then officially solicited to yield the royal Eleanora to his former sovereign. The struggle must have been poignant to his feelings and to his pride; but he saw the necessity, and surrendered the splendid prize[95]. The terms were then settled with the French government. Burgundy was agreed to be given up, and the two eldest sons of Francis were to be exchanged for their father, as hostages for the due performance of this cession. As we are about to open a very different scene of Wolsey's machinations, it is important here to notice the peculiarly kind message which Henry directed his ambassadors to express to Charles. We may consider this to display, as it was meant to do, the king's real sentiments, and that the contrasted drama which our next chapter will exhibit, was the deceiving cardinal's counterplotting contrivance[96].

[94] Bellay. Observ. V. 18. p. 310.

[95] Dr. Lee, on 26th January 1526, informed Henry of the application to the duke of Bourbon. 'This overture made him much to muse at the beginning, reputing himself frustrate of his chief hope. Afterwards the greatness of the necessity was opened to him, and the lack of money on the emperor's part to maintain the war, which was well known to him. Great offers were made to him. At last, he said with his tongue, he was content; but whether he thought it in his heart, heaven knoweth.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 214.

[96] They state to Henry, that on the 22d January they went to the emperor. 'We said we were come to take leave of him, and were glad to see, before our departure, that peace was concluded between him and the French king, of which good news your highness would be glad to

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hear; showing him, that *your grace had given us commission* to declare unto him, that the old root of love between you, and the ancient amity that always had been between your two houses, should on your highness's part be inviolably guarded and observed; whereof he might repute him to be well assured.' Letter of Dr. Lee, bishop of London, and Dr. Sampson, 26th January 1526. MS. ib. p. 220. 'This day we shall commence our journey to your highness.' ib.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

ORIGINAL COLONIZATION OF CANADA, BY FRANCIS I.

As CANADA is now become the most important relic of our North American possessions, and is daily increasing in its population, property and commercial relations, and was first colonized in the reign of Henry VIII. it may gratify the reader to peruse the original instructions for the earliest settlement that was made upon it, from the European branch of the human race, as they were either dictated or approved of by Francis I.

This region was existing unknown to all the other parts of the globe, until the year 1508, when some Norman and Breton adventurers, seeking their fortune at sea, under one John Denys, of Normandy, accidentally roved near it. They did little more than inspect some of its coasts, but it became afterwards known to several of their countrymen, who went to fish near its shores, and whose reports about it at last interested Francis I. to desire that it should be more specially examined.

With this view, in the year 1534, he sent Jacques Cartier Malouin, to reconnoitre the country, inspect its havens and ports, and by sailing up the great river which flowed from it, to learn all that he could collect of its soil, climate and inhabitants. Cartier executed his commission with satisfactory diligence, and the information which he communicated on his return determined the French King to establish a colony in the country, near its principal river, now called St. Lawrence, which is the largest stream of water in North America. This important river was then termed CANADA, by the natives, and its name became transferred to the country itself, tho it was afterwards also called New France.

His expensive wars with the emperor, prevented Francis I. from pursuing his plan of colonizing Canada, till the year 1538. But having at last agreed with Charles V. to establish a general truce between them for ten years, from the 18th June 1538, he proceeded three months afterwards to the accomplishment of his colonial enterprize, and it is in the September of this year that the following official document occurs, for the outfit of the expedition to establish the first settlement in this territory of North America, which has now become such an important member of the foreign dominions of Great Britain.

'Memoir of the Men and Provisions necessary for the Vessels which the King intends to send into CANADA.

'To perform the voyage which the king our sovereign lord desires to have made to Canada, it must go, at the latest, in the middle of May,

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and must have the number of persons and ships hereinafter mentioned, to be increased or lessened as M. Le Connetable (the prime minister) shall think proper.

'It will be requisite to have, as well for guarding the ships that will remain there, as for the equipment of several boats which will be wanted to go into the various streams and rivers, 120 mariners.

'Also, 40 men of war; harquebuziers.

'Also, 30 carpenters, as well of ships, as of houses, and sawyers who work lengthways.

'Ten master masons, who can be assisted by those of the country who will serve them.

'Three men who can make lime.

'Three makers of tiles.

'Two coalmen to make charcoal.

'Four master farriers, each having a forge and two servants; with two locksmiths.

'Four smiths, to search and ascertain if there be any mine of iron, and to make forges and work iron there.

'To take, at least, six vine-dressers and six labourers.

'Three barbers, and each a servant.

'Two apothecaries, with each a servant, to examine and see the useful qualities of the herbs.

'A physician, and a servant.

'Two goldsmiths, who are lapidaries, with their necessary utensils, and each a servant.

'Two master tailors, and two master hosiers, and each a servant.

'Two joiners, and two servants, with their tools.

'Two master rope-makers, and two servants, because there is hemp to make cordage.

'Four cannoneers, at least, and the men of war will make use of these when need requires.

'Six churchmen, with all things necessary for divine service. In all Two Hundred and Seventy-six Men.

'To be victualled for two years at least; that if the ships which shall be sent there next year should not arrive, those now going may not want food.

'These victuals must be well made, and so good as to last all this time, and there must be some of the dry wines of Spain.

'These victuals may cost ten sols a month, for each man; which for the 276 men for 24 months, will amount to 33,120 livres.

'They must also be furnished with clothes, beds, coverings, and all other necessaries, for two or three years; and they must leave some money behind for their wives and children,

'Therefore they must be paid in advance for fifteen or sixteen months, and this will cost at least, one with the other, an hundred sols a month.

'Ten tons of iron; which will cost 50 livres.

'Eight or ten prises of salt, as well for the people of the country who very much value it, as for those of the ships. This will cost, in Brittany, sixty sols for each prise.

'Four milliers yards of common linen, as well for the natives as for the ships.

'Three hundred pieces of crezeaus for natives and ships.

'Also millstones, to make water-mills, wind-mills and hand-mills.

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'They must also carry out as many as possible of all manner and kinds of domestic beasts and birds, as well to do the work as to breed in the country; and all sorts of grains and seeds.

'For their passage there must be at least six ships, of not less than 110 tons, with two barks of 45 or 50 tons each; these with the smallest of the six ships, will remain there, and the other five will return as soon as they have landed the victuals and goods. For the return of these five, each must have 20 men, over and above the aforesaid number. They may take in going and coming, and in staying there, five or six months, for which time they must be victualled, and be paid two months on going out and the remainder on their return.

'There must be munitions of war to land for the forts; artillery arquebuzes a croc, pikes, halberts, lead, balls, powder, and other things.

'In the ships must be three boats, ready to put out when there, to go on the streams and rivers.

'All sorts of nail-work, pitch and tar, for the ships.

'The six ships, being from 700 to 800 tons, will cost a crown per ton a month, for moleage; or about 900 crowns a month, and for the six months, 4,900 crowns.

'There must be also provided, pay and victuals for one hundred men, to bring back the shipping this year, who may be detained six months; which would amount to 1,000 livres a month, and therefore for the six months, 6,000 livres.

'Made the . . . September, 1538.'

I derive this curious paper from the Collection of State Letters, made by Ribier, in 1666, and addressed by him to Colbert, the celebrated minister of Louis XIV. This counsellor of state describes Canada as then 'a vast country, uncultivated, like a desert, and in most places uninhabited, except by demons and wild beasts.'

It was in 1540, that this colonizing expedition reached Canada, under the Sieur de Roberval, and in 1543, another fleet under his superintendence was sent to it, by the same intelligent monarch, Francis the First, who seems not to have suffered either of his contemporaries Charles V. or Henry VIII. to have surpassed him in his encouragement to every laudable undertaking which the intellect and spirit of the day were inclined to pursue.

END OF VOL. I.

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